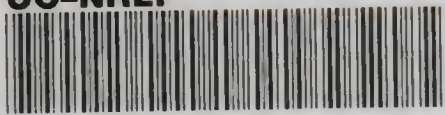


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[The Frontispiece is reproduced from the first volume of the "*Posthumous Works of the learned Sir Thomas Browne, Kt., M.D., late of Norwich*," 1712, the portrait in which was engraved by M. V. der Gucht. This artist, whose name was Michael, was of Flemish or Dutch extraction, and worked as an engraver in England, as did two other Van der Guchts. The coat-of-arms below the portrait, "*Argent, two bendlets sable between as many pellets*," is not given in Burke's "*General Armory*." The coat there assigned to Browne (Nether-Legh, Co. Chester) is "*Argent, two bendlets between as many mullets, sable*." The family from which Sir Thomas Browne descended was of Upton, Cheshire.]

HYDRIOTAPHIA
URN BURIAL; WITH AN ACCOUNT
OF SOME URNS FOUND AT BRAMP-
TON IN NORFOLK, BY SIR THOMAS
BROWNE: WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES BY SIR JOHN EVANS,
K.C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A.



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PORTRAIT OF SIR THOMAS BROWNE

Frontispiece

SET OF FOUR SAXON URNS . *to face page 9*

A ROMAN URN „ „ 87

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

THE Life of Sir Thomas Browne has been already so often traced by other hands, including those of Dr. Johnson, in the various editions of his works, that it would be superfluous here to attempt to give more than an extremely succinct account of it, though such a brief summary seems desirable.

Descended from a good Cheshire family, he was born in London on the 19th of October, 1605, and, losing his father at an early age, was sent to school at Winchester, and subsequently to Broadgates Hall or Pembroke College, Oxford, where he graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1626, and took his Master's degree in 1629. He afterwards adopted medicine as a profession, and practised for some little time in Oxfordshire, but on the

invitation of his step-father, Sir Thomas Dutton, he accompanied him on a tour of inspection of the various castles and forts in Ireland. Being thus as it were uprooted from home, he travelled for a few years on the Continent, studying medicine in the famous schools of Montpellier and of "Padua beyond the sea," and finally taking his degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Leyden, probably in the year 1633. On his return to England, about 1634, he seems to have settled as a physician at Shipden Hall, in the neighbourhood of Halifax, whence, after a residence of about three years, he was induced by the importunities of friends to migrate to Norwich, in which city he took up his abode in 1637. In that same year he was incorporated a Doctor of Medicine at Oxford.

At Norwich he took root, and for a period of forty-six years "practised physick" in that city, dying there on his birthday, the 19th of October, 1682, at the complete age of seventy-seven. In 1641 he had married a congenial wife,

Dorothy Mileham, by whom he left a son and three daughters. She it was who erected a memorial to her husband on the north side of the church of St. Peter's Mancroft. A tablet to her own memory has been placed on the opposite side. She died within little more than two years after her husband, in the sixty-third year of her age.

As has already been remarked by Dr. D. Lloyd Roberts in his excellent edition of the "*Religio Medici* and other Essays,"¹ the remains of Sir Thomas Browne were not destined to rest in peace. "In 1840 the lid of his coffin was accidentally broken open by a blow from a workman's pickaxe, and, to quote his own words, his bones were 'knave'd out of his grave,' his skull being deposited on show in the museum of Norwich Hospital."

In connexion with the death of Sir Thomas taking place on the exact anniversary of his birth, I am tempted to quote some speculations of his own upon another case of the same kind. In his

¹ David Stott, 1892, p. xxxii.

“Letter to a Friend upon occasion of the death of his intimate friend” is the following passage” :¹—“Nothing is more common with Infants than to die on the day of their Nativity, to behold the worldly Hours, and but the Fractions thereof ; and even to perish before their Nativity in the hidden World of the Womb, and before their good Angel is conceived to undertake them. But in Persons who out-live many Years and when there are no less than three hundred sixty five days to determine their Lives in every Year ; that the first day should make the last, that the Tail of the Snake should return into its Mouth precisely at that time, and they should wind up upon the Day of their Nativity² is indeed a remarkable Coincidence ; which, tho’ Astrology hath taken witty Pains to salve, yet hath it been very wary in making Predictions of it.”

It was not until 1671 that Dr. Thomas Browne received the honour of knight-

¹ “Posthumous Works,” 1712, part vii., p. 32.

² According to the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphick.

hood from Charles II. on the occasion of a royal visit to Norwich. He had already attained to great eminence not only as a physician but as an author, his two well-known works, the "Religio Medici" and the "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," the titles of which are recorded in his epitaph, having at that time long been published.

The history of the first of these two works is singular. It was, according to the author's own statement, composed "at his leisurable hours for his private exercise and satisfaction," and the MS. being lent from hand to hand, an anonymous and surreptitious copy of it was published in 1642, and led to no small amount of comment. A second edition of this spurious volume having appeared, Dr. Browne in 1643 published "a true and full copy of that which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously printed before, under the name of 'Religio Medici.'" In all respects this was a remarkable book. Written by one who at the time was under thirty years of age, it might well have been composed by a man who

had already attained to the span of three score years and ten. With the exception perhaps of an overfondness for paradox, and of a slight tinge of personal vanity, all the usual attributes of youth seem to be absent, and yet the insight that it gives into the author's character is complete. "I am," he says, "I confess, naturally inclined to that which misguided zeal terms superstition, my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity." Throughout the book we find the same curious admixture of scepticism and credulity, the same evidences of extensive and miscellaneous reading, the same starting of unexpected questions, whether in natural history or divinity, which are characteristic of his later works.

The "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, or Enquiries into very many received tenents and commonly presumed truths which examined prove but vulgar and common Errors," was originally published in 1646, and went through six editions during the

lifetime of the author, the last appearing in 1672. In writing the "*Religio Medici*," Sir Thomas Browne protests that he was under such disadvantage, that from the first setting of pen unto paper he had not the assistance of any good book whereby to promote his invention or relieve his memory, but in the "*Pseudodoxia*" he reminds one of the instance that he himself gives of Pineda, who "in one work quotes more authors than are necessary in a whole world." While inquiring into and exposing many of the vulgar errors of his time, the author is not in all cases free from error himself, as might in all probability be expected from one whose belief in witchcraft was firmly fixed, who preferred the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system of astronomy, who still retained some faith in judicial astrology, and whose Spagyric chemistry was that of the seventeenth century.

Browne's next work of importance was that which is here reprinted, his "*Hydriotaphia*," the first edition of which

was published in 1658, and "printed for *Hen. Brome* at the Signe of the Gun in *Ivy-lane*," together with his "Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincunciall, Lozenge, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients, Artificially, Naturally, Mystically Considered," a thoroughly characteristic treatise, full of odd botanical learning and of quaint conceits. Both works appeared at the end of a quarto edition of the "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*," published in the same year.

None of the other works of Sir Thomas Browne were published in his lifetime, but a small volume of "Certain Miscellany Tracts, written by Thomas Brown, K^t. and Doctour of Physick, late of Norwich, and edited by Archbishop Tenison," appeared in 1684. This contains a tract on Artificial Hills, Mounts or Burrows in many parts of England.

Another posthumous volume was published in 1712, containing among other treatises an account of some urns found in Brampton Field in February, 1667-8, here reprinted. His "Christian Morals"

was first printed in 1716. Several Natural History papers, extracts from his Commonplace Books and Correspondence, are given in Wilkin's edition of the "Works of Sir Thomas Browne," 1836, reprinted by Bohn and George Bell and Sons.

The "*Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall*, or, A Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urnes lately found in *Norfolk*," originated with the discovery, probably during the winter of 1657, of some forty or fifty urns containing burnt bones in a field at Old Walsingham, Norfolk. Although, as Browne says in his "*Religio Medici*," he always held a slender and doubtful respect unto antiquities, he seized this occasion for writing the most attractive, to most readers, of all his works; and this without inconsistency, as the whole treatise is as much of a moral as an antiquarian character, and that indeed which he admires is "far beyond antiquity, that is Eternity: and that is God himself."

To use the words of a writer in the "*Retrospective Review*":¹—"Sir Thomas

¹ Vol. i. (1820), p. 85.

12-0-4
Browne in the work before us hath dared to take the grave itself for his theme. He deals not with death as a shadow, but as a substantial reality. He dwells not on it as the mere cessation of life—he treats it not as a terrible negation—but enters on its discussion as a state with its own solemnities and pomps. Others who have professed to write on death have treated merely of dying. They have fearfully described the rending asunder of soul and body—the last farewell to existence—and the state of the spirit in its range through new and untried scenes of rapture or of woe. Some have individualized the theme, and written of death in relation only to particular persons or classes who become its victims. Those who regard it more universally and intensely—as Blair and Young—yet look but on its surface. They are conversant only with cypresses, yew-trees, and gravestones, or hint at superstitions which endow the dead with life, and endue the tomb with something of vitality. Sir Thomas Browne alone treats of death

as one subdued to its very essence. He encounters the tyrant, and 'plucks out the heart of his mystery.' He speaks not of the agonies of dissolution ; but regards the destroyer only when he is laden with his spoils, and the subjects of his victory are at rest. The region of his imagination is that space beneath the surface of the world, where the bones of all generations repose. His fancy works beneath the ground its way from tomb to tomb, rests on each variety of burial, ennobles the naked clay of the peasant, expands in the sepulchres of kings, and, skimming beneath the deepest caverns of the sea, detects the unvalued jewels 'in those holes which eyes did once inhabit.' The language of his essay is weighty yet tender, such as his theme should inspire. We can imagine nothing graver. His words are sepulchral—his ornaments are flowers of mortality."

The treatise is divided into five chapters, the first of which takes into consideration the various methods adopted by different nations for the disposal of their dead,

whether by inhumation and "a moist Relentment" or by "fiery Resolution." Of carnal interment or burying, he says that "God himself that buried but one was pleased to make choice of this way," and though the Jewish nation admitted the practice of cremation (for the men of Jabesh burnt the body of Saul), yet "Christians abhorred this way of obsequies, and though they stickt not to give their bodies to be burnt in their lives, detested that mode after death; affecting rather a depositure than absumption."

In Chapter II. we come to the facts of the discovery at Walsingham, and the account given is supplemented by various notices of other antiquities and coins found in Norfolk and elsewhere. Besides numerous Roman coins and Norman, Saxon, and Danish pieces of Cuthred, Canutus, William, Matilda, and others, our author cites some "British coyns of Gold which have been dispersedly found," and no small number of silver pieces with a rude head upon the obverse, and with an ill-formed horse on the

reverse, with inscriptions, *Ic. Duro. T.* That Sir Thomas Browne was a collector of coins, as well as of all natural curiosities, we may gather from the Diary of John Evelyn, who visited him at Norwich in October, 1671, and who records that his whole house and garden was "a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collection, especially medals, books, plants, and natural things." Browne's account of the silver coins probably struck by the Iceni or Eцени is both interesting and correct. The coins reading DVRO are extremely rare, and in modern times hardly any instances of their discovery are known, except that of a single specimen at Weston, in Norfolk, in 1852,¹ then described as unique by the late Mr. C. Roach Smith. In the Hunter² collection at Glasgow is, however, another example. What may have been the coin attributed to the Empress Maud, no one has hitherto been able to determine. "As to the time of these Urns

¹ "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. xv., p. 98.

² Evans' "Ancient British Coins," p. 390.

deposited, or precise antiquity of these Reliques, nothing of more uncertainty." A doubt appears to have arisen in Sir Thomas Browne's mind whether they were properly Roman, or might not have belonged to our British, Saxon, or Danish forefathers. For the modern antiquary, a glance at the Plate on which figures of some of the urns are given, suffices to show that they were of Saxon origin, and of the same general character as the numerous urns which have been found in the Eastern counties within the present century. The combs, and what would appear to have been the remains of brooches, and the other objects described are also of Saxon character.

It is, however, well that Sir Thomas took the view that these were the urns of Romans, as, "from the common custom and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture." Much of what follows in Chapter III. relates to the practice of burning the dead among the Romans, and the treatment and disposal of their ashes. But here also is much

miscellaneous learning displayed, and not a little pious but quaint morality. The analogies between Christian rites and those of the Greeks and Romans, accompanied by many speculations as to the behaviour of ghosts mentioned by Homer, Virgil, and other ancient authors, and some hints as to the Christian hopes of future immortality, help to enrich the fourth chapter.

All the rest of the work is, however, excelled by the fifth and last chapter, in which the pathetic and poetical imagination of the author, his varied reading, his quaint conceits, and his pious trust, are everywhere conspicuous. It would, indeed, be difficult to find in any equal number of pages of any writer so many real gems of literature. There is hardly a paragraph in the whole but what will bear reading again and again, and each time with fresh admiration. What can more neatly and tersely convey the ideas of an author than such sentences as these : " Time which antiquates Antiquities, and hath an art to make dust

of all things, hath yet spared these *minor* Monuments." "To subsist in bones, and be but Pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration." "To be namelesse in worthy deeds exceeds an infamous history. The *Canaanitish* woman lives more happily without a name, than *Herodias* with one. And who had not rather have been the good thief than *Pilate*." There is, indeed, a peculiar charm running through the whole chapter, not only in the thoughts there embodied, but in the language in which they are clothed.

And yet, as a rule, the language in which most of Browne's writings are composed is very peculiar, and in some respects un-English. The intense Latinity of his style is almost everywhere apparent, and, indeed, anyone comparing the Latin version of the "Religio Medici" with the English, would feel inclined to pronounce the former the original, and the latter a too literal translation. Dr. Johnson says with regard to Sir Thomas Browne's style, that it is "a tissue of many languages ; a mixture of hetero-

geneous words brought together from distant regions, with terms originally appropriated to one art and drawn by violence into the service of another. But his innovations are sometimes pleasing, and his temerities happy." Sir Thomas Browne says of himself in the "Religio Medici," "For my own part, besides the jargon and *patois* of several provinces, I understand no less than six languages," but his ordinary written language seems more completely based on Latin itself than on any of its Romance successors. Notwithstanding his acquaintance with French or Italian, it is probable that much of his writing and discourse at Montpellier and Padua may have been in Latin, and that it was thus that his style was formed.

The title of the present essay, "Hydriotaphia," would appear to be of Browne's own composition. The word is formed from *ὕδρεια*, an urn, or water-vessel, and *ταφία*, a modification of *ταφὴ*, burial.

It would be superfluous to cite any of

the unusual Latinized words with which the text abounds, but attention may briefly be called to one or two passages in which the author's observations in natural history, and the cautious scepticism mixed with credulity of the author of the "Vulgar Errors," spontaneously crop out: "They that are so thick skinned as still to credit the story of the *Phœnix*, may say something for animall burning: More serious conjectures finde some examples of sepulture in Elephants, Cranes, the Sepulchrall Cells of Pismires and practice of Bees; which civill society carrieth out their dead, and hath exequies, if not interrments." "Sallow makes more Ashes than Oake, and discovers the common fraud of selling Ashes by measure, and not by ponderation." The bay "seeming dead, will restore it self from the root, and its dry and exuccous leaves resume their verdure again; which, if we mistake not, we have also observed in fures" (furze). These are some instances of the former characteristic; for the latter may be cited his speculations whether fishes

wholly escaped the effects of the Deluge ; his remarks on the Crucifixion, and the relative height of the three crosses, and his doubts as to the burthen of Isaac being "sufficient for an holocaust." But it is time to leave Sir Thomas to speak for himself, and though possibly those are to be envied who now read the "Hydriotaphia" for the first time, those who have already read it are certain to find fresh charms both in manner and matter in reading it again and yet again.

The first edition of the "Hydriotaphia" was, as already stated, published in octavo in 1658. The text of this edition is that which has been adopted in the following pages. A second edition in small quarto, but by the same printer, appeared in the same year, and formed a sequel to the fourth edition of the "Pseudodoxia Epidemica." In this, rather more than a page is devoted to Marginal Illustrations omitted, or to be added to the Discourses of "Urn Burial" and of the "Garden of Cyrus," as well as numerous *errata*. These have been incorporated,

and the necessary corrections made, so far as applicable to the first edition.

Some few evident misprints have also been corrected.

The whole title-page of the first edition is here reproduced, although the text of the "Garden of Cyrus" is omitted.

The treatise on "Brampton Urns," first published in 1712 among the "Posthumous Works of Sir Thomas Browne," relates to a subject so closely cognate to the "Hydriotaphia," that it has been thought advisable to include it in the present volume, though the urns at Brampton seem to have been of Roman, and not of Saxon date. This little essay is far more purely descriptive and matter-of-fact than the imaginative "Hydriotaphia," but apart from any archæological interest will be found well worthy of attentive perusal.

HYDRIOTAPHIA,
VRNE-BURIALL,
OR,
A Discourse of the Sepulchrall
Urnes lately found in
N O R F O L K.

Together with
The Garden of C R R V S,
OR THE
Quincunciall, Lozenge, or
Net-work Plantations of the An-
cients, Artificially, Naturally,
Myſtically Conſidered.
With Sundry Obſervations.

By *Thomas Browne* D. of Phyſick.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Hen. Brome* at the Signe of the
Gun in *Ivy-lane*. 1658.

TO MY WORTHY AND
HONOURED FRIEND THOMAS
LE GROS¹ OF CROSTWICK
ESQUIRE.

WHEN the Funerall pyre was out, and the last valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred Friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes, and having no old experience of the duration of their Reliques, held no opinion of such after-considerations.

But who knows the fate of his bones, or how often he is to be buried? who hath the Oracle of his ashes, or whether they are to be scattered? The Reliques of many lie like the ruins of ^a*Pompeys*, in all parts of the earth; And when they arrive at your hands, these may seem to have wandred far, who in a direct^b and *Meridian* Travell, have but

^a *Pompeios juvenes Asia, atque Europa, sed ipsum terra tegit* Lybies.

^b Little directly, but Sea between your house and *Greenland*.

few miles of known Earth between your self and the Pole.

That the bones of *Theseus* should be seen again^c in *Athens*, was not beyond conjecture, and hopeful expectation ; but that these should arise so opportunely to serve your self, was an hit of fate and honour beyond prediction.

^c Brought
back by
Cimon.
Plutarch.

We cannot but wish these Urnes might have the effect of Theatrical vessels, and great^d *Hippodrome* Urnes in *Rome* ; to resound the acclamations and honour due unto you. But these are sad and sepulchral Pitchers, which have no joyful voices ; silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of forgotten times, and can only speak with life, how long in this corruptible frame, some parts may be uncorrupted ; yet able to out-last bones long unborn, and noblest pyle^e among us.

^d The great
Urnes in
the *Hippo-*
drome at
Rome con-
ceived to
resound
the voices
of people
at their
shows.

^e Worthily
possessed
by that
true Gen-
tleman Sir
Horatio
Town-
shend my
honored
Friend.

We present not these as any strange sight or spectacle unknown to your eyes, who have beheld the best of Urnes, and noblest variety of Ashes ; Who are your self no slender master of Antiquities, and can daily command the view of so many Imperiall faces² ; Which raiseth your thoughts unto old things, and con-

sideration of times before you, when even living men were Antiquities ; when the living might exceed the dead, and to depart this world, could not be properly said, to go unto the ^fgreater number. *‡ Abiit ad plures.* And so run up your thoughts upon the ancient of dayes, the Antiquaries truest object, unto whom the eldest parcels are young, and earth it self an Infant ; and without ^gÆgyptian account makes but small noise in thousands.

We were hinted by the occasion, not caught the opportunity to write of old things, or intrude upon the Antiquary. We are coldly drawn unto discourses of Antiquities, who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things, or make out learned Novelties. But seeing they arose as they lay, almost in silence among us, at least in short account suddenly passed over ; we were very unwilling they should die again, and be buried twice among us.

Beside, to preserve the living, and make the dead to live, to keep men out of their Urnes, and discourse of humane fragments in them, is not impertinent unto our profession ; whose study is life and death, who daily behold examples

^g Which makes the world so many years old.

of mortality, and of all men least need artificial *memento's*, or coffins by our bed side, to minde us of our graves.

'Tis time to observe Occurrences, and let nothing remarkable escape us; The Supinity of elder dayes hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the Records, that the most ^hindustrious heads do finde no easie work to erect a new *Britannia*.

^h Wherein M. *Dugdale* hath excellently well endeavoured, and worthy to be countenanced by ingenious and noble persons.

'Tis opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our Forefathers. Great examples grow thin, and to be fetched from the passed world. Simplicity flies away, and iniquity comes at long strides upon us. We have enough to do to make up our selves from present and passed times, and the whole stage of things scarce serveth for our instruction. A compleat peece of vertue must be made up from the *Centos* of all ages, as all the beauties of *Greece* could make but one handsome *Venus*.

ⁱ In the time of *Henry* the second. *Cambden*.

When the bones of King *Arthur* were digged upⁱ, the old race might think, they beheld therein some Originals of themselves; Unto these of our Urnes none here can pretend relation, and can only behold the Reliques of those persons,

who in their life giving the Laws unto their predecessors, after long obscurity, now lye at their mercies. But remembering the early civility they brought upon these Countreys, and forgetting long passed mischiefs; We mercifully preserve their bones, and pisse not upon their ashes.

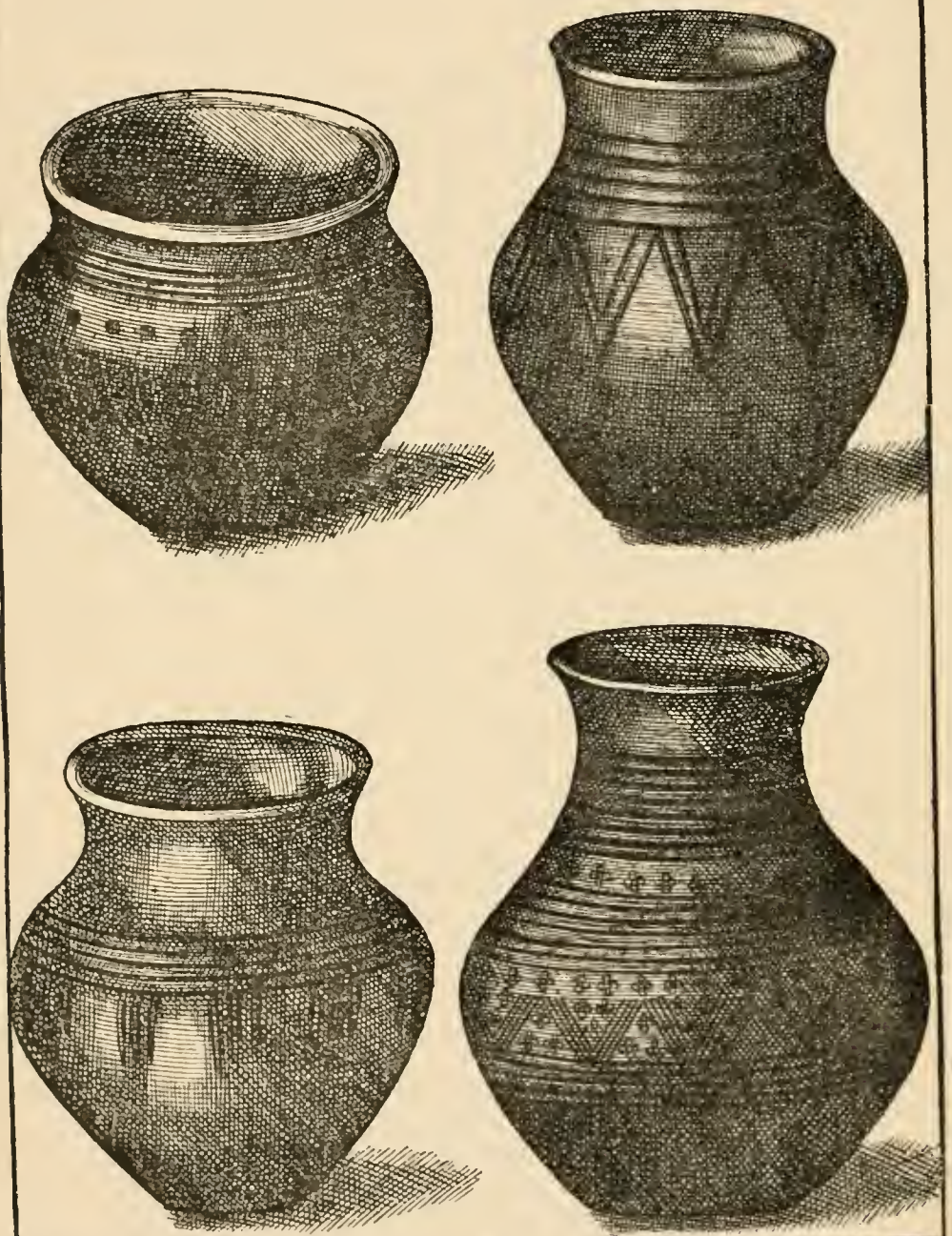
In the offer of these Antiquities we drive not at ancient Families, so long out-lasted by them; We are farre from erecting your worth upon the pillars of your Fore-fathers, whose merits you illustrate. We honour your old Virtues, conformable unto times before you, which are the Noblest Armoury. And having long experience of your friendly conversation, void of empty Formality, full of freedome, constant and Generous Honesty. I look upon you as a Gemme of the ^k Old Rock, and must professe my self even to Urne and Ashes,

Your ever faithfull Friend,
and Servant,

Thomas Browne.

*k Adamas
de rupe
veteri præ-
stantis-
simus.*

Norwich, May 1.



En sum quod digitis Quinque Levatur onus propter

HYDRIOTAPHIA

URNE-BURIALL.

OR,

A BRIEF DISCOURSE OF THE
SEPULCHRALL URNES LATELY FOUND
IN NORFOLK.

CHAPTER I.

IN the deep discovery of the Subterranean world, a shallow part would satisfy some enquirers ; who, if two or three yards were open about the surface, would not care to rake the bowels of *Potosi*^a, and regions towards the Centre. Nature hath furnished one part of the Earth, and man another. The treasures of time lie high, in Urnes, Coynes, and Monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegetables. Time hath endlesse rarities, and shows of all varieties ; which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth it self a discovery. That great Antiquity *America* lay buried for thousands of

^a The rich
Mountain
of *Peru*.

years ; and a large part of the earth is still in the Urne unto us.

Though if *Adam* were made out of an extract of the Earth, all parts might challenge a restitution, yet few have returned their bones farre lower then they might receive them ; not affecting the graves of Giants, under hilly and heavy coverings, but content with lesse then their owne depth, have wished their bones might lie soft, and the earth be light upon them ; Even such as hope to rise again, would not be content with centrall interrment, or so desperately to place their reliques as to lie beyond discovery, and in no way to be seen again ; which happy contrivance hath made communication with our forefathers, and left unto our view some parts, which they never beheld themselves.

Though earth hath engrossed the name yet water hath proved the smartest grave ; which in forty dayes swallowed almost mankinde, and the living creation ; Fishes not wholly escaping, except the Salt Ocean were handsomely contempered by a mixture of the fresh Element.

Many have taken voluminous pains to

determine the state of the soul upon disunion ; but men have been most phantasticall in the singular contrivances of their corporall dissolution : whilst the sobrest Nations have rested in two wayes, of simple inhumation and burning.

That carnall interment or burying, was of the elder date, the old examples of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs are sufficient to illustrate ; And were without competition, if it could be made out, that *Adam*³ was buried near *Damascus*, or Mount *Calvary*, according to some Tradition. God himself, that buried but one, was pleased to make choice of this way, collectible from Scripture-expression, and the hot contest between Satan and the Arch-Angel, about discovering the body of *Moses*. But the practice of Burning was also of great Antiquity, and of no slender extent. For (not to derive the same from *Hercules*) noble descriptions there are hereof in the Grecian Funerals of *Homer*, In the formall Obsequies of *Patroclus*, and *Achilles* ; and somewhat elder in the *Theban* warre, and solemn combustion of *Menecceus*, and *Archemorus*, contemporary unto *Jair* the Eighth Judge of *Israel*. Confirmable also

^b Q. Calaber. lib. 1.

^c Ammianus, Mærellinus, Gumbrates King of *Chionia*

a Countrey near *Perisia*.

* Arnoldis Montanis not. in Cæs. Commentar. L. L. Gyraldus. Kirkmanus.

^d 12. Tabul. part. 1. de jure sacro. Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito. tom. 2.

Rogum ascia ne polito.

to. 4. Item vigeni Annotat.

in Livium. & Alex. ab Alex. cum Tiraquello. Roscinus cum dempestro.

^e Ultima prolato subdita flamma rogo. De Fast. Lib. 4. cum Car. Neapol. anaptyxi.

among the *Trojans*, from the Funerall Pyre of *Hector*, burnt before the gates of *Troy*, And the ^bburning of *Penthisilea* the *Amazonian Queen*: and long continuance of that practice, in the inward Countries of *Asia*; while as low as the Reign of *Julian*, we finde that the King of *Chionia* ^c burnt the body of his Son, and interred the ashes in a silver Urne.

The same practice extended also farre West *, and besides *Herulians*, *Getes*, and *Thracians*, was in use with most of the *Celtæ*, *Sarmatians*, *Germans*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Norwegians*; not to omit some use thereof among *Carthaginians* and *Americans*: Of greater Antiquity among the *Romans* then most opinion, or *Pliny* seems to allow. For (beside the old Table Laws of burning^d or burying within the City, of making the Funerall fire with plained wood, or quenching the fire with wine.) *Manlius* the Consul burnt the body of his Son: *Numa* by speciall clause of his Will, was not burnt but buried; And *Remus* was solemnly buried, according to the description of *Ovid* ^e.

Cornelius Sylla was not the first whose body was burned in *Rome*, but of the *Cornelian* Family, which being indifferently, not frequently used before; from that time spread, and became the prevalent practice. Not totally pursued in the highest runne of Cremation; For when even Crows⁴ were funerally burnt, *Poppæa* the Wife of *Nero* found a peculiar grave enterment. Now as all customs were founded upon some bottome of Reason, so there wanted not grounds for this; according to severall apprehensions of the most rationall dissolution. Some being of the opinion of *Thales*, that water was the originall of all things, thought it most equall to submit unto the principle of putrefaction, and conclude in a moist relentment. Others conceived it most natural to end in fire, as due unto the master principle in the composition, according to the doctrine of *Heraclitus*. And therefore heaped up large piles, more actively to waft them toward that Element, whereby they also declined a visible degeneration into worms, and left a lasting parcell of their composition.

Some apprehended a purifying virtue

in fire, refining the grosser commixture, and firing out the Æthereall particles so deeply immersed in it. And such as by tradition or rationall conjecture held any hint of the finall pyre of all things; or that this Element at last must be too hard for all the rest; might conceive most naturally of the fiery dissolution. Others pretending no natural grounds, politickly declined the malice of enemies upon their buried bodies. Which consideration led *Sylla* unto this practise; who having thus served the body of *Marius*, could not but fear a retaliation upon his own; entertained after in the Civill wars, and revengeful contentions of *Rome*.

But as many Nations embraced, and many left it indifferent, so others too much affected, or strictly declined this practice. The *Indian Brachmans* seemed too great friends unto fire, who burnt themselves alive, and thought it the noblest way to end their dayes in fire; according to the expression of the Indian, burning himself at *Athens*^f, in his last words upon the pyre unto the amazed spectators, *Thus I make my selfe Immortall*.

ⁱ And therefore the Inscription of his Tomb was made accordingly. *Nic. Damasc.*

But the *Chaldeans* the great Idolaters

of fire, abhorred the burning of their carcasses, as a pollution of that Deity. The *Persian Magi* declined it upon the like scruple, and being only solicitous about their bones, exposed their flesh to the prey of Birds and Dogges. And the *Persees* now in *India*, which expose their bodies unto Vultures, and endure not so much as *feretra* or Beers of Wood, the proper Fuell of fire, are led on with such niceties. But whether the ancient *Germans* who burned their dead, held any such fear to pollute their Deity of *Herthus*, or the earth, we have no Authentick conjecture.

The *Ægyptians* were afraid of fire, not as a Deity, but a devouring Element, mercilessly consuming their bodies, and leaving too little of them ; and therefore by precious Embalments, depositure in dry earths, or handsome inclosure in glasses, contrived the notablest wayes of integrall conservation. And from such *Ægyptian* scruples imbibed by *Pythagoras*, it may be conjectured that *Numa* and the Pythagoricall Sect first waved the fiery solution.

The *Scythians* who swore by winde and sword, that is, by life and death,

were so farre from burning their bodies, that they declined all interrment, and made their graves in the ayr⁵: And the *Ichthyophagi* or fish-eating Nations about Ægypt, affected the Sea for their grave: Thereby declining visible corruption, and restoring the debt of their bodies. Whereas the old Heroes in *Homer*, dreaded nothing more than water or drowning; probably upon the old opinion of the fiery substance of the soul, only extinguishable by that Element; And therefore the Poet emphatically implieth the totall destruction in this kinde of death, which happened to *Ajax Oileus*⁸.

⁸ Which
Magius
reades
ἐξαπόλωλε.
* *Diodorus*
Siculus.

The old **Balearians* had a peculiar mode, for they used great Urnes and much wood, but no fire in their burials, while they bruised the flesh and bones of the dead, crowded them into Urnes, and laid heapes of wood upon them. And the **Chinois*⁶ without cremation or urnall interrment of their bodies, make use of trees and much burning, while they plant a Pine-tree by their grave, and burn great numbers of printed draughts of slaves and horses over it, civilly content with their companies in effigie, which barbarous Nations exact unto reality.

* *Ramusius* in
Navigat.

Christians abhorred this way of obsequies, and though they stickt not to give their bodies to be burnt in their lives, detested that mode after death; affecting rather a depositure than assumption, and properly submitting unto the sentence of God, to return not unto ashes but unto dust againe, conformable unto the practice of the Patriarchs, the interrment of our Saviour, of *Peter, Paul*, and the ancient Martyrs. And so farre at last declining promiscuous enterment with Pagans, that some have suffered Ecclesiastical censures, for making no scruple thereof.

Martialis
the Bishop.
Cyprian.

The *Musselman* beleevers will never admit this fiery resolution. For they hold a present trial from their black and white Angels in the grave; which they must have made so hollow, that they may rise upon their knees.

The Jewish Nation, though they entertained the old way of inhumation, yet sometimes admitted this practice. For the men of *Jabesh* burnt the body of *Saul*. And by no prohibited practice to avoid contagion or pollution, in time of pestilence, burnt the bodies of their friends^h. And when they burnt not their dead

^h Amos 6.
10.

bodies, yet sometimes used great burnings neare and about them, deducible from the expressions concerning *Jehoram*, *Sedechias*, and the sumptuous pyre of *Asa*: And were so little averse from ⁱ Pagan burning, that the Jews lamenting the death of *Cæsar* their friend, and revenger on *Pompey*, frequented the place where his body was burnt for many nights together. And as they raised noble Monuments and *Mausolæums* for their own Nation ^k, so they were not scrupulous in erecting some for others, according to the practice of *Daniel*, who left that lasting sepulchrall pyle in *Echbatana*, for the *Medean* and *Persian* Kings ^l.

ⁱ Sueton.
in vita.
Jul. Cæs.

^k As that magni-
ficent sepul-
chral Mo-
nument
erected by
Simon.
Mach. 1.
13.

^l Κατασκέυ-
ασμα θαν-
μασίως πε-
ποιημένον,
whereof a
Jewish
Priest had
alwayes
the custody
unto *Jose-
phus* his
dayes. *Jos.*
Lib. 10.
Antiq.

But even in times of subjection and hottest use, they conformed not unto the *Romane* practice of burning; whereby the Prophecy was secured concerning the body of Christ, that it should not see corruption, or a bone should not be broken; which we beleieve was also providentially prevented, from the Souldiers spear and nails that past by the little bones both in his hands and feet: Not of ordinary contrivance, that it should not corrupt on the Crosse, according to

the Laws of *Romane* Crucifixion, or an hair of his head perish, though observable in Jewish customes, to cut the hairs of Malefactors.

Nor in their long co-habitation with *Ægyptians*, crept into a custome of their exact embalming, wherein deeply slashing the muscles, and taking out the brains and entrails, they had broken the subject of so entire a Resurrection, nor fully answered the types of *Enoch*, *Eliah*, or *Jonah*, which yet to prevent or restore, was of equall facility unto that rising power, able to break the fasciations and bands of death, to get clear out of the Cere-cloth, and an hundred pounds of oyntment, and out of the Sepulchre before the stone was rolled from it.

But though they embraced not this practice of burning, yet entertained they many ceremonies agreeable unto *Greeke* and *Romane* obsequies. And he that observeth their funerall Feasts, their Lamentations at the grave, their musick, and weeping mourners; how they closed the eyes of their friends, how they washed, anointed, and kissed the dead; may easily conclude these were not meere

* O
Absalom
Absalom
Absalom
 2. Sam. 18.

Pagan - Civilities. But whether that mournfull burthen, and treble calling out after *Absalom* *, had any reference unto the last conclamation, and triple valediction, used by other Nations, we hold but a wavering conjecture.

Civilians make sepulture but of the Law of Nations, others doe naturally found it and discover it also in animals. They that are so thick skinned as still to credit the story of the *Phœnix*,⁷ may say something for animall burning: More serious conjectures finde some examples of sepulture in Elephants, Cranes, the Sepulchrall Cells of Pismires and practice of Bees; which civill society carrieth out their dead, and hath exequies, if not interrments.

CHAP. II.

THE Solemnities, Ceremonies, Rites of their Cremation or enterrment, so solemnly delivered by Authours, we shall not disparage our Reader to repeat. Only the last and lasting part in their Urns, collected bones and Ashes, we cannot wholly omit, or decline that Subject, which occasion lately presented, in some discovered among us.

In a Field of old *Walsingham*, not many moneths past, were digged up between fourty and fifty Vrnēs, deposited in a dry and sandy soile, not a yard deep, nor farre from one another: Not all strictly of one figure, but most answering these described: Some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jawes, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion. Besides the extraneous substances, like peecees of small boxes, or

combes handsomely wrought, handles of small brasse instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kinde of *Opale**.⁸

* In one sent me by my worthy friend Dr Thomas Witherley of Walsingham.

Near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compasse were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the *Ustrina* or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the *Manes*, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the *Aræ* and Altars unto the gods and *Heroes* above it.

That these were the *Vrnes* of *Romanes* from the common custome and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture, not farre from a *Romane* Garrison, and but five Miles from *Bran-caster*, set down by ancient Record under the name of *Brannodunum*. And where the adjoyning Towne, containing seven Parishes, in no very different sound, but Saxon Termination, still retains the Name of *Burnham*, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of *Romanes* themselves, or *Brittains Romanised*, which observed the *Romane* customes.

Nor is it improbable that the *Romanes*

early possessed this Countrey; for though we meet not with such strict particulars of these parts, before the new Institution of *Constantine*, and military charge of the Count of the *Saxon* shore, and that about the *Saxon* Invasions, the *Dalmatian* Horsemen were in the Garrison of *Brancaster*: Yet in the time of *Claudius*, *Vespasian*, and *Severus*, we finde no lesse then three Legions dispersed through the Province of *Brittain*. And as high as the Reign of *Claudius* a great overthrow was given unto the *Iceni*, by the *Romane* Lieutenant *Ostorius*. Not long after the Countrey was so molested, that in hope of a better state, *Prasutagus* bequeathed his Kingdome unto *Nero* and his Daughters; and *Boadicea* his Queen fought the last decisive Battle with *Paulinus*. After which time and Conquest of *Agricola* the Lieutenant of *Vespasian*, probable it is they wholly possessed this Countrey, ordering it into Garrisons or Habitations, best suitable with their securities. And so some *Romane* Habitations, not improbable in these parts, as high as the time of *Vespasian*, where the *Saxons* after seated, in whose thin-fill'd Mappes we yet finde

the Name of *Walsingham*. Now if the *Iceni* were but *Gammadims*, *Anconians*, or men that lived in an Angle wedge or Elbow of *Brittain*, according to the Originall Etymologie, this countrey will challenge the Emphaticall appellation, as most properly making the Elbow or Iken of *Icenia*.

^m *Hominum infinita multitudo est, creberrimæ ædificia ferè Gallicis consimilia.*
Cæs. de bello Gal.
 l. 5.

ⁿ In the ground of my worthy Friend
Rob. Jegon Esq.
 wherein some things contained were preserved by the most worthy Sir
William Paston Bt.

That *Britain* was notably populous is undeniable, from that expression of *Cæsar*^m. That the *Romans* themselves were early in no small Numbers, Seventy Thousand with their associats slain by *Boadicea*, affords a sure account. And though many *Roman* habitations are now unknowne, yet some by old works, Rampiers, Coynes, and Urnes doe testifie their Possessions. Some Urnes have been found at *Castor*, some also about *Southcreake*, and not many years past, no lesse then ten in a Field at *Buxton*ⁿ, not near any recorded Garison. Nor is it strange to finde *Romane* Coynes of Copper and Silver among us ; of *Vespasian*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Commodus*, *Antoninus*, *Severus*, &c. But the greater number of *Dioclesian*, *Constantine*, *Constantians*, *Valens*, with many of *Victorinus*, *Posthumius*, *Tetricus*, and the thirty Ty-

rants in the Reigne of *Gallienus*; and some as high as *Adrianus* have been found about *Thetford*, or *Sitomagus*, mentioned in the itinerary of *Antoninus*, as the way from *Venta* or *Castor* unto *London*^o. But the most frequent discovery is made at the two *Casters* by *Norwich* and *Yarmouth*^p, at *Burghcastle* and *Brancaster*^q.

^o From
Castor to
Thetford
the Ro-
manes ac-
counted
thirty two

miles, and from thence observed not our common road to *London*, but passed by *Combretonium ad Ansam*, *Canonium*, *Cæsaromagus*, &c. by *Bretenham*, *Coggeshall*, *Chelmefford*, *Burntwood*, &c. ^p Most at *Caster* by *Yarmouth*, found in a place called *East-bloudy-burgh furlong*, belonging to Mr *Thomas Wood*, a person of civility, industry and knowledge in this way, who hath made observation of remarkable things about him, and from whom we have received divers Silver and Copper Coynes. ^q Belonging to that Noble Gentleman, and true example of worth Sir *Ralph Hare* Baronet, my honoured Friend.

Besides, the *Norman*, *Saxon* and *Danish* peeces of *Cuthred*, *Canutus*, *William*, *Matilda*^{a, q}, and others, som Brittish Coynes of gold have been dispersedly found; And no small number of silver peeces near ^b *Norwich*; with a rude head upon the obverse, and an ill formed horse on the reverse, with Inscriptions *Ic. Duro. T.* whether implying *Iceni*, *Durotriges*, *Tascia*, or *Trinobantes*, we leave to higher conjecture. Vulgar Chronology will have *Norwich* Castle as old as *Julius*

^a A peece
of *Maud*
the Em-
presse said
to be found
in *Bucken-*
ham Castle
with this
Inscrip-
tion, *Elle*
n'a elle.
^b At
Thorpe.

Cæsar ; but his distance from these parts, and its *Gothick* form of structure, abridgeth such Antiquity. The *British* Coyns afford conjecture of early habitation in these parts, though the City of *Norwich* arose from the ruines of *Venta*, and though perhaps not without some habitation before, was enlarged, builded, and nominated by the *Saxons*. In what bulk or populosity it stood in the old East-angle Monarchy, tradition and history are silent. Considerable it was in the *Danish* Eruptions, when *Sueno* burnt *Thetford* and *Norwich*^c, and *Ulfketel* the Governour thereof, was able to make some resistance, and after endeavoured to burn the *Danish* Navy.

^c *Brampton Abbas Journal-lensis.*

How the *Romanes* left so many Coynes in Countreys of their Conquests, seems of hard resolution, except we consider how they buried them under ground, when upon barbarous invasions they were fain to desert their habitations in most part of their Empire, and the strictnesse of their laws forbidding to transfer them to any other uses ; Wherein the ^d *Spartans* were singular, who to make their Copper money uselesse, contempered it with vinegar. That the *Brittains* left any,

^d *Plut. in vita Lycurg.*

some wonder ; since their money was iron, and Iron rings before *Cæsar* ; and those of after stamp by permission, and but small in bulk and bignesse ; that so few of the *Saxons* remain, because overcome by succeeding Conquerours upon the place, their Coynes by degrees passed into other stamps, and the marks of after ages.

Then the time of these Urnes deposited, or precise Antiquity of these Reliques, nothing of more uncertainty. For since the Lieutenant of *Claudius* seems to have made the first progresse into these parts, since *Boadicea* was overthrown by the Forces of *Nero*, and *Agricola* put a full end to these Conquests ; it is not probable the Countrey was fully garrison'd or planted before ; and therefore however these Urnes might be of later date, not likely of higher Antiquity.

And the succeeding Emperours consisted not from their Conquests in these and other parts ; as testified by history and medall inscription yet extant. The Province of *Brittain* in so divided a distance from *Rome*, beholding the faces of many Imperiall persons, and in large account no fewer then *Cæsar*, *Claudius*,

Britannicus, Vespasian, Titus, Adrian, Severus, Commodus, Geta, and Caracalla.

*Stowes
Survey of
London.*

A great obscurity herein, because no medall or Emperours Coyne enclosed, which might denote the date of their enterrments. Observable in many Urnes, and found in those of *Spittle* Fields by *London*, which contained the Coyne of *Claudius, Vespasian, Commodus, Antoninus*, attended with Lacrymatories, Lamps, Bottles of Liquor, and other appurtenances of affectionate superstition, which in these rurall interrements were wanting.

Some uncertainty there is from the period or term of burning, or the cessation of that practise. *Macrobius* affirmeth it was disused in his dayes. But most agree, though without authentick record, that it ceased with the *Antonini*. Most safely to be understood after the Reigne of those Emperours, which assumed the name of *Antoninus*, extending unto *Heliogabalus*. Not strictly after *Marcus*; For about fifty years later we finde the magnificent burning, and consecration of *Severus*; and if we so fix this period or cessation, these Urnes will challenge above thirteen hundred years.

But whether this practise was onely then left by Emperours and great persons, or generally about *Rome*, and not in other Provinces, we hold no authentick account. For after *Tertullian*, in the dayes of *Minucius* it was obviously objected upon Christians, that they condemned the practise of burning^e. And we finde a passage in *Sidonius*^f, which asserteth that practise in *France* unto a lower account. And perhaps not fully disused till Christianity fully established, which gave the finall extinction to these sepulchrall Bonfires.

^e *Execrantur rogos, & damnant ignium sepulturam.*

Min. in Oct.

^f *Sidon. Apollinaris.*

Whether they were the bones of men or women or children, no authentick decision from ancient custome in distinct places of buriall. Although not improbably conjectured, that the double Sepulture or burying place of *Abraham*^{*}, had in it such intension. But from exility of bones, thinnesse of skulls, smallnesse of teeth, ribbes, and thigh-bones; not improbable that many thereof were persons of *minor* age, or women. Confirmable also from things contained in them: In most were found substances resembling Combes, Plates like Boxes, fastened with Iron pins, and handsomely

^{*} *Det mihi speluncam duplicem.*
Gen. 23.

overwrought like the necks or Bridges of Muscall Instruments, long brasse plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements, brazen nippers to pull away hair, and in one a kinde of *Opale* yet maintaining a blewish colour.

Now that they accustomed to burn or bury with them, things wherein they excelled, delighted, or which were dear unto them, either as farewells unto all pleasure, or vain apprehension that they might use them in the other world, is testified by all Antiquity. Observable from the Gemme or Berill Ring upon the finger of *Cynthia*, the Mistresse of *Propertius*, when after her Funerall Pyre her Ghost appeared unto him. And notably illustrated from the Contents of that *Romane* Urne preserved by Cardinall *Farnese*^g, wherein besides great number of Gemmes with heads of Gods and Goddesses, were found an Ape of *Agath*, a Grashopper, an Elephant of *Ambre*, a Crystall Ball, three glasses, two Spooones, and six Nuts of Crystall. And beyond the content of Urnes, in the Monument of *Childerick* the first^h, and fourth King from *Pharamond*, casually discovered three years past at *Tournay*, restoring unto the world

^g *Vigeneri*
Annot. in
4. Liv.

^h *Chifflet*
in Anast.
Childer.

much gold richly adorning his Sword, two hundred Rubies,¹⁰ many hundred Imperial Coyns, three hundred golden Bees, the bones and horseshoe of his horse enterred with him, according to the barbarous magnificence of those dayes in their sepulchral Obsequies. Although if we steer by the conjecture of many and Septuagint expression; some trace thereof may be found even with the ancient Hebrews, not only from the Sepulcrall treasure of *David*, but the circumcision knives which *Josuah* also buried.

Some men considering the contents of these Vrnēs, lasting peeces and toyes included in them, and the custome of burning with many other Nations, might somewhat doubt whether all Vrnēs found among us, were properly *Romane* Reliques, or some not belonging unto our *Brittish*, *Saxon*, or *Danish* Forefathers.

In the form of Buriall among the ancient *Brittains*, the large Discourses of *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo* are silent: For the discovery whereof, with other particulars, we much deplore the losse of that Letter which *Cicero*¹¹ expected or received from his Brother *Quintus*, as a

ⁱ *Dionis
excerpta
per Xiphi-
lin. in
Severo.*

resolution of *Brittish* customes ; or the account which might have been made by *Scribonius Largus* the Physician, accompanying the Emperour *Claudius*, who might have also discovered that frugall Bitⁱ of the Old *Brittains*, which in the bignesse of a Bean could satisfie their thirst and hunger.

But that the *Druids* and ruling Priests used to burn and bury, is expressed by *Pomponius* ; That *Bellinus* the Brother of *Brennus*, and King of *Brittains* was burnt, is acknowledged by *Polydorus*, as also by *Amandus Zierexensis* in *Historia*, and *Pineda* in his *Universa historia*. Spanish. That they held that practise in *Gallia*, *Cæsar* expresly delivereth. Whether the *Brittains* (probably descended from them, of like Religion, Language and Manners) did not sometimes make use of burning ; or whether at least such as were after civilized unto the *Romane* life and manners, conformed not unto this practise, we have no historicall assertion or deniall. But since from the account of *Tacitus* the *Romanes* early wrought so much civility upon the *Brittish* stock, that they brought them to build Temples, to wear the Gowne, and

study the *Romane* Laws and language, that they conformed also unto their religious rites and customes in burials, seems no improbable conjecture.

That burning the dead was used in *Sarmatia*, is affirmed by *Gaguinus*, that the *Sueons* and *Gothlanders* used to burne their Princes and great persons, is delivered by *Saxo* and *Olaus*; that this was the old *Germane* practise, is also asserted by *Tacitus*. And though we are bare in historicall particulars of such obsequies in this Island, or that the *Saxons*, *Jutes*, and *Angles* burnt their dead, yet came they from parts where 'twas of ancient practise; the *Germanes* using it, from whom they were descended. And even in *Jutland* and *Sleswick* in *Anglia Cymbrica*, Vrn̄es with bones were found not many years before us.

*Roisold,
Brende-
tiide. Ild
tyde.*

But the *Danish* and Northern Nations have raised an *Æra* or point of compute from their Custome of burning their dead: Some deriving it from *Unguinus*, some from *Frotho* the great; who ordained by Law, that Princes and Chief Commanders should be committed unto the fire, though the common sort had the common grave enterrment. So

Starkatterus that old *Heroe* was burnt, and *Ringo* royally burnt the body of *Harald* the King slain by him.

What time this custome generally expired in that Nation, we discern no assured period ; whether it ceased before Christianity, or upon their Conversion, by *Ansgarius* the Gaul in the time of *Ludovicus Pius* the Sonne of *Charles* the great, according to good computes ; or whether it might not be used by some persons, while for a hundred and eighty years Paganisme and Christianity were promiscuously embraced among them, there is no assured conclusion. About which times the *Danes* were busie in *England*, and particularly infested this Countrey : Where many Castles and strong holds, were built by them, or against them, and great number of names and Families still derived from them. But since this custome was probably disused before their Invasion or Conquest, and the *Romanes* confessedly practised the same, since their possession of this Island, the most assured account will fall upon the *Romanes*, or *Brittains Romanized*.

However certain it is, that *Vrnes* con-

ceived of no *Romane* Originall, are often digged up both in *Norway*, and *Denmark*, handsomely described, and graphically represented by the Learned Physician *Wormius*¹, And in some parts of *Denmark* in no ordinary number, as stands delivered by Authours exactly describing those Countreys^m. And they contained not only bones, but many other substances in them, as Knives, peeces of Iron, Brasse and Wood, and one of *Norwaye* a brasse guilded Jewes-harp.

¹ *Olai Wormii monumenta & Antiquit. Dan. m Adolphus Cyprius in Annal. Sleswic. urnis adeo abundabat collis; &c.*

Nor were they confused or carelesse in disposing the noblest sort, while they placed large stones in circle about the Vrnes, or bodies which they interred: Somewhat answerable unto the Monument of *Rollrich* stones in *England*ⁿ, or sepulcrall Monument probably erected by *Rollo*, who after conquered *Normandy*. Where 'tis not improbable somewhat might be discovered. Mean while to what Nation or person belonged that large Vrne found at *Ashburie*^o, containing mighty bones, and a Buckler; What those large Vrnes found at little *Massingham*^p, or why the *Anglesea* Urnes are placed with their mouths downward, remains yet undiscovered.

ⁿ In *Oxfordshire*; *Cambden*.

^o In *Cheshire*, *Twinnus de rebus Albionis*.

^p In *Norfolk*, *Hollingshead*.

CHAP. III.

PLAYSTERED and whited Sepulchres, were anciently affected in cadaverous, and corruptive Burials; And the rigid Jews were wont to garnish the Sepulchres of the ^a righteous; *Ulysses* in ^b *Hecuba* ^b cared not how meanly he lived, so he might finde a noble Tomb after death. Great Persons affected great Monuments, And the fair and larger Urnes contained no vulgar ashes, which makes that disparity in those which time discovereth among us. The present Urnes were not of one capacity, the largest containing above a gallon, Some not much above half that measure; nor all of one figure, wherein there is no strict conformity, in the same or different Countreys; Observable from those represented by *Casalius*, *Bosio*, and others, though all found in *Italy*: While many

^a Mat. 23.

^b *Euripides*.

have handles, ears, and long necks, but most imitate a circular figure, in a sphericall and round composure; whether from any mystery, best duration or capacity, were but a conjecture. But the common form with necks was a proper figure, making our last bed like our first; nor much unlike the Urnes of our Nativity, while we lay in the nether part of the Earth^c, and inward vault of our Microcosme. Many Urnes are red, these but of a black colour, somewhat smooth, and dully sounding, which begat some doubt, whether they were burnt, or only baked in Oven or Sunne: According to the ancient way, in many bricks, tiles, pots, and testaceous works; and as the word *testa* is properly to be taken, when occurring without addition: And chiefly intended by *Pliny*, when he commendeth bricks and tiles of two years old, and to make them in the spring. Nor only these concealed peeces, but the open magnificence of Antiquity, ran much in the Artifice of Clay. Hereof the house of *Mausolus* was built, thus old *Jupiter* stood in the Capitoll, and the *Statua* of *Hercules* made in the Reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, was extant in *Plinies* dayes.

^c Psa. 63.

And such as declined burning or Funerall Urnes, affected Coffins of Clay, according to the mode of *Pythagoras*, and preferred by *Varro*. But the spirit of great ones was above these circumscriptions, affecting copper, silver, gold, and *Porphyrie* Urnes, wherein *Severus* lay, after a serious view and sentence on that which should contain him^d. Some of these Urnes were thought to have been silvered over, from sparklings in several pots, with small Tinsell parcels; uncertain whether from the earth, or the first mixture in them.

^d Χωρήσεις
τὸν ἄνθρω-
πον, ὃν ἡ
οἰκουμένη
οὐκ
ἡχώρησεν.
Dion.

Among these Urnes we could obtain no good account of their coverings; Only one seemed arched over with some kinde of brickwork. Of those found at *Buxton* some were covered with flints, some in other parts with tiles, those at *Yarmouth Caster*, were closed with *Romane* bricks. And some have proper earthen covers adapted and fitted to them. But in the *Homerical* Urne of *Patroclus*, whatever was the solid Tegument, we finde the immediate covering to be a purple peece of silk: And such as had no covers might have the earth closely pressed into them, after which disposure were

probably some of these, wherein we found the bones and ashes half mortered unto the sand and sides of the Urne; and some long roots of Quich, or Dogs-grass wreathed about the bones.

No Lamps, included Liquors, Lachrymatories, or Tear-bottles attended these rurall Urnes, either as sacred unto the *Manes*, or passionate expressions of their surviving friends. While with rich flames, and hired tears they solemnized their Obsequies, and in the most lamented Monuments made one part of their Inscriptions^e. Some finde sepulchrall Vessels containing liquors, which time hath incrassated into gellies. For beside these Lachrymatories, notable Lamps, with Vesselsof Oyles and Aromaticall Liquors attended noble Ossuaries. And some yet retaining a * Vinosity and spirit in them, which if any have tasted they have farre exceeded the Palats of Antiquity.¹² Liquors not to be computed by years of annuall Magistrates, but by great conjunctions¹³ and the fatall periods of Kingdomes^f. The draughts of Consulary date, were but crude unto these, and *Opimian*^g Wine but in the must unto them.

In sundry Graves and Sepulchres, we

^e *Cum lacrymis posuere.*

* *Lazius.*

^f About five hundred years. *Plato.*

^g *Vinum Opiminianum annorum certum.*

Petron.

^h 12. *Tabul. l. xi. de Jure sacro. Neve aurum addito, ast quoi auro dentes vincti erunt, in cum illo sepelire & urere, se fraude esto.*

ⁱ Plin. l. xvi. *Inter ξύλα ἀσαπῆ numerat Theophrastus.*
^k *Surius.*

meet with Rings, Coynes, and Chalices ; Ancient frugality was so severe, that they allowed no gold to attend the Corps, but only that which served to fasten their teeth^h. Whether the *Opaline* stone in this Urne were burnt upon the finger of the dead, or cast into the fire by some affectionate friend, it will consist with either custome. But other incinerable substances were found so fresh, that they could feel no sindge from fire. These upon view were judged to be wood, but sinking in water and tried by the fire, we found them to be bone or Ivory. In their hardnesse and yellow colour they most resembled Box, which in old expressions found the Epitheteⁱ of Eternall, and perhaps in such conservatories might have passed uncorrupted.

That Bay-leaves were found green in the Tomb of S. *Humbert*^k, after an hundred and fifty years, was looked upon as miraculous. Remarkable it was unto old Spectators, that the Cypresse of the Temple of *Diana*, lasted so many hundred years : The wood of the Ark and Olive Rod of *Aaron* were older at the Captivity. But the Cypresse of the Ark of *Noah*, was the greatest vegetable

Antiquity, if *Josephus* were not deceived, by some fragments of it in his dayes. To omit the Moore-logs, and Firre-trees found under-ground in many parts of *England*; the undated ruines of windes, flouds or earthquakes; and which in *Flanders* still shew from what quarter they fell, as generally lying in a North-East position¹.

¹ *Gorop.
Becanus in
Niloscopio.*

But though we found not these peeces to be Wood, according to first apprehension, yet we missed not altogether of some woody substance; For the bones were not so clearly pickt, but some coals were found amongst them; A way to make wood perpetuall, and a fit associat for metall, whereon was laid the foundation of the great *Ephesian* Temple, and which were made the lasting tests of old boundaries and Landmarks; Whilest we look on these, we admire not Observations of Coals found fresh, after four hundred years^m. In a long deserted habitationⁿ, even Egge-shels have been found fresh, not tending to corruption.

^m Of *Be-
ringuccio
nella pyro-
technia.*

In the Monument of King *Childerick*, the Iron Reliques were found all rusty and crumbling into peeces. But our little Iron pins which fastened the Ivory

ⁿ At *Elme-
ham.*

works, held well together, and lost not their Magneticall quality, though wanting a tenacious moisture for the firmer union of parts, although it be hardly drawn into fusion, yet that metall soon submitteth unto rust and dissolution. In the brazen peeces we admired not the duration but the freedome from rust, and ill savour; upon the hardest attrition, but now exposed unto the piercing Atomes of ayre; in the space of a few moneths, they begin to spot and betray their green entrals. We conceive not these Urnes to have descended thus naked as they appear, or to have entred their graves without the old habit of flowers. The Urne of *Philopæmen* was so laden with flowers and ribbons, that it afforded no sight of it self. The rigid *Lycurgus* allowed Olive and Myrtle. The *Athenians* might fairly except against the practise of *Democritus* to be buried up in honey; as fearing to embezzle a great commodity of their Countrey, and the best of that kinde in *Europe*. But *Plato* seemed too frugally politick, who allowed no larger Monument then would contain for Heroick Verses, and designed the most barren ground for sepulture: Though we cannot

commend the goodnesse of that sepulchrall ground, which was set at no higher rate then the mean salary of *Judas*. Though the earth had confounded the ashes of these Ossuaries, yet the bones were so smartly burnt, that some thin plates of brasse were found half melted among them : whereby we apprehend they were not of the meanest carcasses, perfunctorily fired as sometimes in military, and commonly in pestilence, burnings ; or after the manner of abject corps, hudled forth and carelesly burnt, without the Esquiline Port at *Rome* ; which was an affront continued upon *Tiberius*, while they but half burnt his body *, and in the Amphitheatre, according to the custome in notable Malefactors ; whereas *Nero* seemed not so much to feare his death, as that his head should be cut off, and his body not burnt entire.

* Sueton.
in vitâ Tib.
& *in Amphitheatro*
semiustulandum,
not. *Cas-*
aub.

Some finding many fragments of sculs in these Urnes, suspected a mixture of bones ; In none we searched was there cause of such conjecture, though sometimes they declined not that practise ; The ashes of ^b *Domitian* were mingled with those of *Julia*, of *Achilles* with those of *Patroclus* : All Urnes contained not

^b Sueton.
in vitâ Domitian.

^c S. the
most learn-
ed and
worthy Mr
*M. Casau-
bon* upon
Antoninus.

^d *Sic eri-
muscuncti,
&c. Ergo
dum vivi-
mus viva-
mus.*

^e *Ἀρχώνην
παίζειν.* A
barbarous
pastime at
Feasts,
when men
stood upon
a rolling
Globe,
with their
necks in a
Rope, and
a knife in
their
hands,
ready to
cut it when
the stone
was rolled
away,
wherein if
they failed,
they lost
their lives
to the
laughter of
their spec-
tators.

Athenæus.

single ashes; Without confused burn-
ings they affectionately compounded
their bones; passionately endeavouring
to continue their living Unions. And
when distance of death denied such con-
junctions, unsatisfied affections conceived
some satisfaction to be neighbours in the
grave, to lye Urne by Urne, and touch
but in their names. And many were so
curious to continue their living relations,
that they contrived large, and family
Urnes, wherein the Ashes of their nearest
friends and kindred might successively
be received^c, at least some parcels there-
of, while their collaterall memorials lay
in *minor* vessels about them.

Antiquity held too light thoughts from
Objects of mortality, while some drew
provocatives of mirth from Anatomies^d,
and Juglers shewed tricks with Skeletons.
When Fiddlers made not so pleasant mirth
as Fencers, and men could sit with quiet
stomacks while hanging was plaied^e
before them. Old considerations made
few *memento's* by sculs and bones upon
their monuments. In the Ægyptian
Obelisks and Hieroglyphicall figures, it
is not easie to meet with bones. The
sepulchrall Lamps speak nothing lesse

then sepulture; and in their literall draughts prove often obscene and antick peeces: Where we finde *D.M.*^f it is obvious to meet with sacrificing *patera*'s, and vessels of libation, upon old sepulchrall Monuments. In the Jewish *Hypogæum*^g and subterranean Cell at *Rome*, was little observable beside the variety of Lamps, and frequent draughts of the holy Candlestick. In authentick draughts of *Anthony* and *Jerome*, we meet with thigh-bones and deaths heads; but the cemiteriall Cels of ancient Christians and Martyrs, were filled with draughts of Scripture Stories; not declining the flourishes of Cypresse, Palmes, and Olive; and the mysticall Figures of Peacocks, Doves and Cocks. But iterately affecting the pourtraits of *Enoch*, *Lazarus*, *Jonas*, and the Vision of *Ezechiel*, as hopefull draughts, and hinting imagery of the Resurrection; which is the life of the grave, and sweetens our habitations in the Land of Moles and Pismires.

^f *Diis manibus.*

^g *Bosio.*

Gentile inscriptions precisely delivered the extent of mens lives, seldome the manner of their deaths, which history it self so often leaves obscure in the records of memorable persons. There is scarce

any Philosopher but dies twice or thrice in *Laertius*; Nor almost any life without two or three deaths in *Plutarch*; which makes the tragicall ends of noble persons more favourably resented by compassionate Readers, who finde some relief in the Election of such differences.

The certainty of death is attended with uncertainties, in time, manner, places. The variety of Monuments hath often obscured true graves: and *Cenotaphs* confounded Sepulchres. For beside their reall Tombs, many have found honorary and empty Sepulchres. The variety of *Homers* Monuments made him of various Countreys. *Euripides*^h had his Tomb in *Africa*, but his sepulture in *Macedonia*.

^h *Pausan.*
in Atticis.

ⁱ *Lamprid.*
in vit.
Alexand.
Severi.

^k *Trajanus.*
Dion.

And *Severus*ⁱ found his real Sepulchre in *Rome*, but his empty grave in *Gallia*.

He that lay in a golden Urne^k eminently above the Earth, was not like to finde the quiet of these bones. Many of these Urnes were broke by a vulgar discoverer in hope of inclosed treasure. The ashes of *Marcellus*^l were lost above ground, upon the like account. Where profit hath prompted, no age hath wanted such miners. For which the most barbarous Expilators found the most civill

^l *Plut. in*
vit. Mar-
celli.

Rhetorick. Gold once out of the earth is no more due unto it ; What was unreasonably committed to the ground is reasonably resumed from it : Let Monuments and rich Fabricks, not Riches adorn mens ashes. The commerce of the living is not to be transferred unto the dead : It is not injustice to take that which none complains to lose, and no man is wronged where no man is possessor.

The Commission of the *Gothish* King *Theodoric* for finding out sepulchrall treasure. *Cassiodor. Var. l. 4.*

What virtue yet sleeps in this *terra damnata* and aged cinders, were petty magick to experiment ; These crumbling reliques and long-fired particles superannate such expectations : Bones, hairs, nails, and teeth of the dead, were the treasures of old Sorcerers. In vain we revive such practices ; Present superstition too visibly perpetuates the folly of our Fore-fathers, wherein unto old Observation this Island was so compleat, that it might have instructed *Persia*.

à *Britannia hodie eam attornitè celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit. Plin. l. 29.*

Plato's historian of the other world, lies twelve dayes incorrupted, while his soul was viewing the large stations of the dead. How to keep the corps seven dayes from corruption by anointing and washing, without exenteration, were an

hazardable peece of art, in our choisest practise. How they made distinct separation of bones and ashes from fiery admixture, hath found no historicall solution. Though they seemed to make a distinct collection, and overlooked not *Pyrrhus* his toe^c. Some provision they might make by fictile Vessels, Coverings, Tiles, or flat stones, upon and about the body. And in the same Field, not farre from these Urnes, many stones were found under ground, as also by carefull separation of extraneous matter, composing and raking up the burnt bones with forks, observable in that notable lamp of *Galuanus*. *Martianus*^b, who had the sight of the *Vas Ustrinum*, or vessell wherein they burnt the dead, found in the Esquiline Field at *Rome*, might have afforded clearer solution. But their insatisfaction herein begat that remarkable invention in the Funerall Pyres of some Princes, by incombustible sheets made with a texture of *Asbestos*, incremable flax, or Salamanders wool, which preserved their bones and ashes incommixed.

How the bulk of a man should sink into so few pounds of bones and ashes, may seem strange unto any who con-

^c To be seen in *Licet. de reconditis veterum lucernis.*

^b *Topygraphiæ Romæ ex Martiano. Erat & vas ustrinum appellatum quod in eo cadavera comburentur. Cap. de Campo Esquilino.*

siders not its constitution, and how slender a masse will remain upon an open and urging fire of the carnall composition. Even bones themselves reduced into ashes, do abate a notable proportion. And consisting much of a volatile salt, when that is fired out, make a light kind of cinders. Although their bulk be disproportionable to their weight, when the heavy principle of Salt is fired out, and the Earth almost only remaineth; Observable in sallow, which makes more Ashes then Oake; and discovers the common fraud of selling Ashes by measure, and not by ponderation.

Some bones make best Skeletons^a, some bodies quick and speediest ashes: Who would expect a quick flame from Hydropicall *Heraclitus*? The poysoned Souldier when his Belly brake, put out two pyres in *Plutarch*^b. But in the plague of *Athens*^c, one private pyre served two or three Intruders; and the *Saracens* burnt in large heaps, by the King of *Castile*^d, shewed how little Fuell sufficeth. Though the Funerall pyre of *Patroclus* took up an hundred foot^e, a peece of an old boat burnt *Pompey*; And if the burthen of *Isaac* were sufficient for an

^a Old bones according to *Lyserus*. Those of young persons not tall nor fat according to *Columbus*.

^b *In vita*. Gracc.

^c *Thucydides*.

^d *Laurent Valla*.

^e Ἐκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

holocaust, a man may carry his owne pyre.

^f *Speran.*
Alb. Ovor.

From animals are drawn good burning lights, and good medicines ^f against burning ; Though the seminall humour seems of a contrary nature to fire, yet the body compleated proves a combustible lump, wherein fire findes flame even from bones, and some fuell almost from all parts. Though the ^g Metropolis of humidity seems least disposed unto it, which might render the skulls of these Urnes lesse burned then other bones. But all flies or sinks before fire almost in all bodies : When the common ligament is dissolved, the attenuable parts ascend, the rest subside in coal, calx or ashes.

^g The
brain.
Hippo-
crates.

^d Amos
2. 1.

^e As *Artemisia* of
her Hus-
band *Mau-*
solus.

To burn the bones of the King of ^d *Edom* for Lyme, seems no irrationall ferity ; But to drink of the ashes of dead relations ^e, a passionate prodigality. He that hath the ashes of his friend, hath an everlasting treasure : where fire taketh leave, corruption slowly enters ; In bones well burnt, fire makes a wall against it self ; experimented in copels, and tests of metals, which consist of such ingredients. What the Sun compoundeth, fire analyseth, not transmuteth. That de-

vouring agent leaves almost allwayes a morsell for the Earth, whereof all things are but a colonie; and which, if time permits, the mother Element will have in their primitive masse again.

He that looks for Urnes and old sepulchrall reliques, must not seek them in the ruines of Temples: where no Religion anciently placed them. These were found in a Field, according to ancient custome, in noble or private buriall; the old practise of the *Canaanites*, the Family of *Abraham*, and the burying place of *Josua*, in the borders of his possessions; and also agreeable unto *Roman* practice to bury by high-wayes, whereby their Monuments were under eye: Memorials of themselves, and *memento's* of mortality into living passengers; whom the Epitaphs of great ones were fain to beg to stay and look upon them. A language though sometimes used, not so proper in Church-Inscriptions^a. The sensible Rhetorick of the dead, to exemplarity of good life, first admitted the bones of pious men, and Martyrs within Church-wals; which in succeeding ages crept into promiscuous practise. While *Constantine* was peculiarly favoured to

^a *Siste viator.*

*Kirk-
mannus de
funer.*

be admitted unto the Church Porch ; and the first thus buried in *England* was in the dayes of *Cuthred*.¹⁴

Christians dispute how their bodies should lye in the grave. In urnall enterrment they clearly escaped this Controversie : Though we decline the Religious consideration, yet in cemiteriall and narrower burying places, to avoid confusion and crosse position, a certain posture were to be admitted ; Which even Pagan civility observed, The *Persians* lay North and South, The *Megarians* and *Phœnicians* placed their heads to the East : The *Athenians*, some think, towards the West, which Christians still retain. And *Beda* will have it to be the posture of our Saviour. That he was crucified with his face towards the West, we will not contend with tradition and probable account ; But we applaud not the hand of the Painter, in exalting his Crosse so high above those on either side ; since hereof we finde no authentick account in history, and even the crosses found by *Helena* pretend no such distinction from longitude or dimension.

To be knav'd ¹⁵ out of our graves, to have our sculs made drinking-bowls, and

our bones turned into Pipes, to delight and sport our Enemies, are Tragicall abominations, escaped in burning Burials.

Urneall enterrments, and burnt Reliques lye not in fear of worms, or to be an heritage for Serpents ; In carnal sepulture, corruptions seem peculiar unto parts, and some speak of snakes out of the spinall marrow. But while we suppose common wormes in graves, 'tis not easie to finde any there ; few in Church-yards above a foot deep, fewer or none in Churches, though in fresh decayed bodies. Teeth, bones, and hair, give the most lasting defiance to corruption. In an Hydropicall body ten years buried in a Church-yard, we met with a fat concretion, where the nitre of the Earth, and the salt and lixivious liquor of the body, had coagulated large lumps of fat, into the consistence of the hardest castle-soap¹⁶ ; whereof part remaineth with us. After a battle with the *Persians* the *Roman* Corps decayed in few dayes, while the *Persian* bodies remained dry and uncorrupted. Bodies in the same ground do not uniformly dissolve, nor bones equally moulder ; whereof in the opprobrious disease we expect no long

^c Of *Thomas* Marquesse of *Dorset*, whose body being buried 1530, was 1608 upon the cutting open of the Cerecloth found perfect and nothing corrupted, the flesh not hardened, but in colour, proportion, and softnesse like an ordinary corps newly to be interred. *Burtons* descript. of *Leicestershire*.

^d In his Map of *Russia*.

* That part in the skeleton of an horse which is made by the haunch-bones.

duration. The body of the Marquesse of *Dorset* seemed sound and handsomely cereclothed, that after seventy eight years was found uncorrupted^c. Common Tombs preserve not beyond powder: A firmer consistence and compage of parts might be expected from Arefaction, deep buriall or charcoal. The greatest Antiquities of mortall bodies may remain in putrified bones, whereof, though we take not in the pillar of *Lots* wife or Metamorphosis of *Ortelius*^d, some may be older then Pyramids, in the putrified Reliques of the generall inundation. When *Alexander* opened the Tomb of *Cyrus*, the remaining bones discovered his proportion, whereof urnall fragments afford but a bad conjecture, and have this disadvantage of grave enterrments, that they leave us ignorant of most personall discoveries. For since bones afford not only rectitude and stability, but figure unto the body; It is no impossible Physiognomy to conjecture at fleshy appendencies; and after what shape the muscles and carnous parts might hang in their full consistences. A full spread *Cariola* *¹⁷ shews a well-shaped horse behinde, handsome formed skulls, give some

analogie of fleshy resemblance. A criticall view of bones makes a good distinction of sexes. Even colour is not beyond conjecture ; since it is hard to be deceived in the distinction of *Negro's*° skulls. ° *Dantes* Characters are to be found in skulls as well as faces. *Hercules* is not onely known by his foot. Other parts make out their compropotions, and inferences upon whole or parts. And since the dimensions of the head measure the whole body, and the figure thereof gives conjecture of the principall faculties ; Physiognomy outlives our selves, and ends not in our graves.

Severe contemplators observing these lasting reliques, may think them good monuments of persons past, little advantage to future beings. And considering that power which subdueth all things unto it self, that can resume the scattered Atomes, or identifie out of any thing, conceive it superfluous to expect a resurrection out of Reliques. But the soul subsisting, other matter clothed with due accidents, may salve the individuality : Yet the Saints we observe arose from

° For their extraordinary thickness.

° The Poet *Dante* in his view of Purgatory, found

gluttons so meagre,

and extenuated,

that he conceited

them to have been

in the Siege of *Jerusalem*,

and that it was easie

to have discovered

Homo or *Omo* in

their faces : M

being made by the two

lines of their

cheeks, arching

over the Eye brows

to the nose, and

their sunk eyes making O O

which

makes up *Omo*. *Parean l'occhiaie anella senza gemme che nel viso de gli huomini legge huomo Ben' hauria quivi conosciuto l'emme.*

graves and monuments, about the holy City. Some think the ancient Patriarchs so earnestly desired to lay their bones in *Canaan*, as hoping to make a part of that Resurrection, and though thirty miles from Mount *Calvary*, at least to lie in that Region, which should produce the first-fruits of the dead. And if according to learned conjecture, the bodies of men shall rise where their greatest Reliques remain, many are not like to erre in the Topography of their Resurrection, though their bones or bodies be after translated by Angels into the field of *Ezechiels* vision, or as some will order it, into the Valley of Judgement, or *Jehosaphat*.¹⁸

Tirin. in
Ezek.

CHAP. IV.

CHRISTIANS have handsomely glossed the deformity of death, by careful consideration of the body, and civil rites which take of brutall terminations. And though they conceived all reparable by a resurrection, cast not off all care of enterrment. And since the ashes of Sacrifices burnt upon the Altar of God, were carefully carried out by the Priests, and deposed in a clean field ; since they acknowledged their bodies to be the lodging of Christ, and temples of the holy Ghost, they devolved not all upon the sufficiency of soul existence ; and therefore with long services and full solemnities concluded their last Exequies, wherein^a to all distinctions the Greek devotion seems most pathetically ceremonious.

Christian invention hath chiefly driven at Rites, which speak hopes of another life, and hints of a Resurrection. And

^a *Ritua-
le
Græcum
opera J.
Goar in
officio exe-
quiarum.*

^b *Similis
revivi-
scendi
promissa
Democrito
vanitas,
qui non
revixit
ipse. Quæ,
malum,
ista de-
mentia est;
iterari vi-
tam morte.*
Plin. l. 7.
c. 55.
^c *Kai τάχα
δὲκ γαίης
ἐλπίζομεν
εἰς φάος ἐλ-
θεῖν λείψ-
αν ἀποι-
χομένων.*
*& dein-
ceps.*
^d *Cedit
enim retro
de terrâ
quod fuit
ante In
terram,
&c.*
Lucret.
^e *Plato in
Phæd.*

if the ancient Gentiles held not the immortality of their better part, and some subsistence after death ; in severall rites, customes, actions and expressions, they contradicted their own opinions : wherein *Democritus* went high, even to the thought of a resurrection ^b, as scoffingly recorded by *Pliny*. What can be more expresse than the expression of *Phocyllides* ^c? Or who would expect from *Lucretius* ^d a sentence of *Ecclesiastes*? Before *Plato* could speak, the soul had wings in *Homer*, which fell not, but flew out of the body into the mansions of the dead ; who also observed that handsome distinction of *Demas* and *Soma*, for the body conjoyned to the soul and body separated from it. *Lucian* spoke much truth in jest, when he said, that part of *Hercules* which proceeded from *Alchmena* perished, that from *Jupiter* remained immortall. Thus ^e *Socrates* was content that his friends should bury his body, so they would not think they buried *Socrates*, and regarding only his immortall part, was indifferent to be burnt or buried. From such Considerations *Diogenes* might condemn Sepulture. And being satisfied that the soul could not perish, grow

carelesse of corporall enterrment. The *Stoicks* who thought the souls of wise men had their habitation about the *moon*, might make slight account of subterraneous deposition ; whereas the *Pythagorians* and transcorporating Philosophers, who were to be often buried, held great care of their enterrment. And the *Platonicks* rejected not a due care of the grave, though they put their ashes to unreasonable expectations, in their tedious term of return and long set revolution.

Men have lost their reason in nothing so much as their religion, wherein stones and clouts make Martyrs ; and since the religion of one seems madnesse unto another, to afford an account or rationall of old Rites, requires no rigid Reader ; That they kindled the pyre aversly, or turning their face from it, was an handsome Symbole of unwilling ministration ; That they washed their bones with wine and milk, that the mother wrapt them in Linnen, and dried them in her bosome, the first fostering part, and place of their nourishment ; That they opened their eyes towards heaven, before they kindled the fire, as the place of their hopes or originall, were no im-

*† Vale, vale,
nos te ordi-
ne quo
natura
permittet
sequemur.*

proper Ceremonies. Their last valediction^f thrice uttered by the attendants was also very solemn, and somewhat answered by Christians, who thought it too little, if they threw not the earth thrice upon the entered body. That in strewing their Tombs the *Romans* affected the Rose, the Greeks *Amaranthus* and myrtle; that the Funerall pyre consisted of sweet fuell, Cypresse, Firre, Larix, Yewe, and Trees perpetually verdant, lay silent expressions of their surviving hopes: Wherein Christians which deck their Coffins with Bays have found a more elegant Embleme. For that he seeming dead, will restore it self from the root, and its dry and exuccous leaves resume their verdure again; which if we mistake not, we have also observed in fures. Whether the planting of yewe in Churchyards, hold not its originall from ancient Funerall rites, or as an Embleme of Resurrection from its perpetual verdure, may also admit conjecture.

They made use of Musick to excite or quiet the affections of their friends, according to different harmonies. But the secret and symbolical hint was the harmonical nature of the soul; which de-

livered from the body, went again to enjoy the primitive harmony of heaven, from whence it first descended ; which according to its progresse traced by antiquity, came down by *Cancer*, and ascended by *Capricornus*.

They burnt not children before their teeth appeared,¹⁹ as apprehending their bodies too tender a morsell for fire, and that their gristly bones would scarce leave separable reliques after the pyrrall combustion. That they kindled not fire in their houses for some dayes after, was a strict memoriall of the late afflicting fire. And mourning without hope, they had an happy fraud against excessive lamentation, by a common opinion that deep sorrows disturbed their ghosts^a.

^a*Tu manes
ne læde
meos.*

That they buried their dead on their backs, or in a supine position, seems agreeable unto profound sleep, and common posture of dying ; contrary to the most naturall way of birth ; Nor unlike our pendulous posture, in the doubtfull state of the womb. *Diogenes* was singular, who preferred a prone situation in the grave, and some Christians^b like neither, who decline the figure of rest, and make choice of an erect posture.

^b*Russians,
&c.*

That they carried them out of the world with their feet forward, not inconsonant unto reason : As contrary unto the native posture of man, and his production first into it. And also agreeable unto their opinions, while they bid adieu unto the world, not to look again upon it ; whereas *Mahometans* who think to return to a delightfull life again, are carried forth with their heads forward, and looking toward their houses.

They closed their eyes as parts which first die or first discover the sad effects of death. But their iterated clamations to excitate their dying or dead friends, or revoke them unto life again, was a vanity of affection ; as not presumably ignorant of the criticall tests of death, by apposition of feathers, glasses, and reflexion of figures, which dead eyes represent not ; which however not strictly verifiable in fresh and warm *cadavers*, could hardly elude the test, in corps of four or five dayes : at least by some difference from living eyes.

That they suck'd in the last breath of their expiring friends, was surely a practice of no medecall institution, but a loose opinion that the soul passed out that

way, and a fondnesse of affection from some * *Pythagoricall* foundation, that the spirit of one body passed into another ; which they wished might be their own.

* *Francesco Perucei. Pompe funebri.*

That they powred oyle upon the pyre, was a tolerable practise, while the intention rested in facilitating the accension ; But to place good *Omens* in the quick and speedy burning, to sacrifice unto the windes for a dispatch in this office, was a low form of superstition.

The *Archimime* or *Jester* attending the Funerall train, and imitating the speeches, gesture, and manners of the deceased, was too light for such solemnities, contradicting their Funerall Orations, and dolefull rites of the grave.

That they buried a peece of money with them as a Fee of the *Elysian Ferriman*, was a practise full of folly. But the ancient custome of placing coynes in considerable Urnes, and the present practise of burying medals in the Noble Foundations of *Europe*, are laudable wayes of historicall discoveries, in actions, persons, Chronologies ; and posterity will applaud them.

We examine not the old Laws of Sepulture, exempting certain persons from buriall or burning. But hereby we

apprehend that these were not the bones of persons Planet-struck or burnt with fire from Heaven : No Reliques of Traitors to their Countrey, Self-killers, or Sacrilegious Malefactors ; Persons in old apprehension unworthy of the *earth* ; condemned unto the *Tartara's* of Hell, and bottomlesse pit of *Plato*, from whence there was no redemption.

Nor were only many customes questionable in order to their Obsequies, but also sundry practises, fictions, and conceptions, discordant or obscure, of their state and future beings ; whether unto eight or ten bodies of men to adde one of a woman, as being more inflammable, and unctuously constituted for the better pyrrall combustion, were any rationall practise : Or whether the complaint of *Perianders* Wife be tolerable, that wanting her Funerall burning she suffered intolerable cold in Hell, according to the constitution of the infernall house of *Plato*, wherein cold makes a great part of their tortures ; it cannot passe without some question.

Why the Female Ghosts appear unto *Ulysses*, before the *Heroes* and masculine spirits ? Why the *Psyche* or soul of *Tire-*

sias is of the masculine gender * ; who being blinde on earth sees more then all the rest in hell ; Why the Funerall Suppers consisted of Egges, Beans, Smallage, and Lettuce, since the dead are made to eat *Asphodels* ° about the *Elyzian* meadows ? Why since there is no Sacrifice acceptable, nor any propitiation for the Covenant of the grave ; men set up the Deity of *Morta*, and fruitlesly adored Divinities without ears ? it cannot escape some doubt.

* In *Homer*

Ψυχῇ
θηβαίου
τειρεσίας
σκήπτρον
ἔχων.

° In
Lucian.

The dead seem all alive in the humane *Hades* of *Homer*, yet cannot well speak, prophesie, or know the living, except they drink bloud, wherein is the life of man. And therefore the souls of *Pene-lope's* Paramours conducted by *Mercury* chirped like bats, and those which followed *Hercules* made a noise but like a flock of birds.

The departed spirits know things past and to come, yet are ignorant of things present. *Agamemnon* foretels what should happen unto *Ulysses*, yet ignorantly enquires what is become of his own Son. The Ghosts are afraid of swords in *Homer*, yet *Sybilla* tels *Æneas* in *Virgil*, the thin habit of spirits was beyond the

force of weapons. The spirits put off their malice with their bodies, and *Cæsar* and *Pompey* accord in Latine Hell, yet *Ajax* in *Homer* endures not a conference with *Ulysses*: And *Deiphobus* appears all mangled in *Virgils* Ghosts, yet we meet with perfect shadows among the wounded ghosts of *Homer*.

Since *Charon* in *Lucian* applauds his condition among the dead, whether it be handsomely said of *Achilles*, that living contemner of death, that he had rather be a Plowmans servant then Emperour of the dead? How *Hercules* his soul is in hell, and yet in heaven, and *Julius* his soul in a Starre, yet seen by *Æneas* in hell, except the Ghosts were but Images and shadows of the soul, received in higher mansions, according to the ancient division of body, soul, and image or *simulachrum* of them both. The particulars of future beings must needs be dark unto ancient Theories, which Christian Philosophy yet determines but in a Cloud of opinions. A Dialogue between two Infants in the womb concerning the state of this world, might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof methinks we yet dis-

course in *Platoes* denne, and are but *Embryon* Philosophers.

Pythagoras escapes in the fabulous hell of *Dante*^a, among that swarm of Philosophers, wherein whilst we meet with *Plato* and *Socrates*, *Cato* is to be found in no lower place then Purgatory. Among all the set, *Epicurus* is most considerable, whom men make honest without an *Elyzium*, who contemned life without encouragement of immortality, and making nothing after death, yet made nothing of the King of terrours.

^a *Del inferno.*
cant. 4.

Were the happinesse of the next world as closely apprehended as the felicities of this, it were a martyrdom to live; and unto such as consider none hereafter, it must be more then death to dye, which makes us amazed at those audacities, that durst be nothing, and return into their *Chaos* again. Certainly such spirits as could condemn death, when they expected no better being after, would have scorned to live had they known any. And therefore we applaud not the judgment of *Machiavel*, that Christianity makes men cowards, or that with the confidence of but half dying, the despised virtues of patience and humility, have

abased the spirits of men, which Pagan principles exalted, but rather regulated the wildnesse of audacities, in the attempts, grounds, and eternall sequels of death ; wherein men of the boldest spirits are often prodigiously temerarious. Nor can we extenuate the valour of ancient Martyrs, who contemned death in the uncomfortable scene of their lives, and in their decrepit Martyrdomes did probably lose not many moneths of their dayes, or parted with life when it was scarce worth the living. For (beside that long time past holds no consideration unto a slender time to come) they had no small disadvantage from the constitution of old age, which naturally makes men fearfull ; complexionally superannuated from the bold and couragious thoughts of youth and fervent years. But the contempt of death from corporall animosity, promoteth not our felicity. They may set in the *Orchestra*, and noblest Seats of Heaven, who have held up shaking hands in the fire, and humanely contended for glory.

Mean while *Epicurus* lyes deep in *Dante's* hell, wherein we meet with Tombs enclosing souls which denied their im-

mortalities. But whether the virtuous heathen, who lived better then he spake, or erring in the principles of himself, yet lived above Philosophers of more specious Maximes, lye so deep as he is placed ; at least so low as not to rise against Christians, who beleeving or knowing that truth, have lastingly denied it in their practise and conversation, were a quæry too sad to insist on.

But all or most apprehensions rested in Opinions of some future being, which ignorantly or coldly beleeved, begat those perverted conceptions, Ceremonies, Sayings, which Christians pity or laugh at. Happy are they, which live not in that disadvantage of time, when men could say little for futurity, but from reason. Whereby the noblest mindes fell often upon doubtfull deaths, and melancholly Dissolutions ; With these hopes *Socrates* warmed his doubtfull spirits, against that cold potion, and *Cato* before he durst give the fatall stroak spent part of the night in reading the immortality of *Plato*, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto the animosity of that attempt.

It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man, to tell him he

is at the end of his nature ; or that there is no further state to come, unto which this seemes progressionall, and otherwise made in vaine ; Without this accomplishment the naturall expectation and desire of such a state, were but a fallacy in nature, unsatisfied Considerators ; would quarrell the justice of their constitutions, and rest content that *Adam* had fallen lower, whereby by knowing no other Originall, and deeper ignorance of themselves, they might have enjoyed the happinesse of inferiour Creatures ; who in tranquility possesse their Constitutions, as having not the apprehension to deplore their own natures. And being framed below the circumference of these hopes, or cognition of better being, the wisdom of God hath necessitated their Contentment : But the superiour ingredient and obscured part of our selves, whereto all present felicities afford no resting contentment, will be able at last to tell us we are more then our present selves ; and evacuate such hopes in the fruition of their own accomplishments.

CHAP. V.

NOW since these dead bones have already out-lasting the living ones of *Methuselah*, and in a yard under ground, and thin walls of clay, out-worn all the strong and specious buildings above it; and quietly rested under the drums and tramlings of three conquests; What Prince can promise such diuturnity unto his Reliques, or might not gladly say,

* *Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim.* * *Tibullus.*

Time which antiquates Antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these *minor* Monuments. In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation and obscurity their protection: If they dyed by violent hands, and were thrust into their Urnes, these bones become considerable, and some old Philosophers would honour^a them, whose

^a *Oracula
Chaldaica
cum
scholiis
pselli &
Phethonis.
Βίη λιπόν-
των σώμα-
ψυχὰ κα-
θαώτεται.
Vi corpus
relinquen-
tium
animæ
purissimæ.*

souls they conceived most pure, which were thus snatched from their bodies ; and to retain a stronger propension unto them : whereas they weariedly left a languishing corps, and with faint desires of re-union. If they fell by long and aged decay, yet wrapt up in the bundle of time, they fall into indistinction, and make but one blot with Infants. If we begin to die when we live, and long life be but a prolongation of death ; our life is a sad composition ; We live with death, and die not in a moment. How many pulses made up the life of *Methuselah*, were work for *Archimedes* : Common Counters summe up the life of *Moses* his man^b. Our dayes become considerable like petty sums by minute accumulations ; where numerous fractions make up but small round numbers ; and our dayes of a span long make not one little finger^c.

^b In the
Psalm of
Moses.

^c Accord-
ing to the
ancient
Arith-
metick of
the hand
wherein
the little
finger of
the right
hand con-
tracted,
signified an
hundred.
*Pierius in
Hiero-
glyph.*

If the nearnesse of our last necessity, brought a nearer conformity unto it, there were a happinesse in hoary hairs, and no calamity in half senses. But the long habit of living indisposeth us for dying ; When Avarice makes us the sport of death ; When even *David* grew

politickly cruell; and *Solomon* could hardly be said to be the wisest of men. But many are too early old, and before the date of age. Adversity stretcheth our dayes, misery makes * *Alcmenas* nights, and time hath no wings unto it. But the most tedious being is that which can unwish it self, content to be nothing, or never to have been, which was beyond the *male*-content of *Job*, who cursed not the day of his life, but his Nativity: Content to have so farre been, as to have a Title to future being; Although he had lived here but in an hidden state of life, and as it were an abortion.

* One
night as
long as
three.

What Song the *Syrens* sang, or what name *Achilles* assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling Questions are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these Ossuaries entred the famous Nations of the dead, and slept with Princes and Counsellours, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above Antiquarism. Not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the Provinciall Guardians, or tutelary Observators.

The puzzling questions of *Tiberius* unto *Grammarians*.
Marcel.
Donatus
in Suet.
Κλυτὰ ἔθνεα νεκρῶν.
Hom. Job.

Had they made as good provision for their names, as they have done for their Reliques, they had not so grosly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but Pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration. Vain ashes, which in the oblivion of names, persons, times, and sexes, have found unto themselves, a fruitlesse continuation, and only arise unto late posterity, as Emblemes of mortall vanities; Antidotes against pride, vain-glory, and madding vices. Pagan vain-glories which thought the world might last for ever, had encouragement for ambition, and finding no *Atropos* unto the immortality of their Names, were never damp't with the necessity of oblivion. Even old ambitions had the advantage of ours, in the attempts of their vain-glories, who acting early, and before the probable Meridian of time, have by this time found great accomplishment of their designes, whereby the ancient *Heroes* have already out-last'd their Monuments, and Mechanicall preservations. But in this latter Scene of time we cannot expect such Mummies unto our memories, when ambition may fear the Prophecy of *Elias*^e, and *Charles*

^e That the world may last but six thousand years.

the fifth can never hope to live within two *Methusela's* of *Hector*^f.

And therefore restlesse inquietude for the diuturnity of our memories unto present considerations, seems a vanity almost out of date, and superannuated peece of folly. We cannot hope to live so long in our names, as some have done in their persons, one face of *Janus* holds no proportion unto the other. 'Tis too late to be ambitious. The great mutations of the world are acted, or time may be too short for our designs. To extend our memories by Monuments, whose death we dayly pray for, and whose duration we cannot hope, without injury to our expectations, in the advent of the last day, were a contradiction to our beliefs. We whose generations are ordained in this setting part of time, are providentially taken off from such imaginations. And being necessitated to eye the remaining particle of futurity, are naturally constituted unto thoughts of the next world, and cannot excusably decline the consideration of that duration, which maketh Pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment.

Circles and right lines limit and close

H

^f Hectors
fame last-
ing above
two lives
of *Methu-
selah*, be-
fore that
famous
Prince was
extant.

g θ The
character
of death.

h Old ones
being
taken up,
and other
bodies laid
under
them.

i *Gruteri
Inscrip-
tiones An-
tiquæ.*

k *Cuperem
notum esse
quod sim,
non opto ut
sciatur
qualis sim.
Card. in
vita pro-
pria.*

all bodies, and the mortall right-lined circle^g, must conclude and shut up all. There is no antidote against the *Opium* of time, which temporally considereth all things; Our Fathers finde their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our Survivors. Grave-stones tell truth scarce forty years^h: Generations passe while some trees stand, and old Families last not three Oaks. To be read by bare Inscriptions like many in *Gruter*ⁱ, to hope for Eternity by Ænigmaticall Epithetes, or first letters of our names, to be studied by Antiquaries, who we were, and have new Names given us like many of the Mummies, which men show in several countries, giving them what names they please: and unto some the names of the old Ægyptian Kings out of *Herodotus*, are cold consolations unto the Students of perpetuity, even by everlasting Languages.

To be content that times to come should only know there was such a man, not caring whether they knew more of him, was a frigid ambition in *Cardan*^k: disparaging his horoscopal inclination and judgement of himself, who cares to subsist like *Hippocrates* Patients, or

Achilles horses in *Homer*, under naked nominations, without deserts and noble acts, which are the balsame of our memories, the *Entelechia* and soul of our subsistences. To be namelesse in worthy deeds exceeds an infamous history. The *Canaanitish* woman lives more happily without a name, then *Herodias* with one. And who had not rather have been the good thief, then *Pilate*?

But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Who can but pity the founder of the Pyramids? *Herostratus* lives that burnt the Temple of *Diana*, he is almost lost that built it; Time hath spared the Epitaph of *Adrians* horse, confounded that of himself. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equall durations; and *Thersites* is like to live as long as *Agamemnon*: Who knows whether the best of men be known? or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot, then any that stand remembred in the known account of time, without the favour of the everlasting Register? the first man had

been as unknown as the last, and *Methuselahs* long life had been his only Chronicle.

Oblivion is not to be hired: The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the Register of God, not in the record of man. Twenty seven Names make up the first story before the flood, and the recorded names ever since contain not one living Century. The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, and who knows when was the *Æquinox*? Euery houre addes unto that current Arithmetique, which scarce stands one moment. And since death must be the *Lucina* of life, and even Pagans could doubt * whether thus to live, were to dye. Since our longest Sunne sets at right descensions, and makes but winter arches, and therefore it cannot be long before we lie down in darknesse, and have our light in ashes°. Since the brother of death daily haunts us with dying *memento's*, and time that grows old it self, bids us hope no long duration: Diuturnity is a dream and folly of expectation.

* *Euripides.*

° According to the custome of the Jewes who place a lighted wax candle in a pot of ashes by the corps. *Leo.*

: Darknesse and light divide the course

of time, and oblivion shares with memory, a great part even of our living beings ; we slightly remember our felicities, and the smartest stroaks of affliction leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities, miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which notwithstanding is no unhappy stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come, and forgetfull of evils past, is a mercifull provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil dayes, and our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions. A great part of Antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls. A good way to continue their memories, while having the advantage of plurall successions, they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and enjoying the fame of their passed selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others rather then be lost in the uncomfortable night of nothing, were content to recede into the common

being, and make one particle of the publick soul of all things, which was no more then to return into their unknown and divine Originall again. Ægyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies in sweet consistences, to attend the return of their souls. But all was vanity, feeding* the winde, and folly. The Ægyptian Mummies, which *Cambyses* or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummie is become Merchandise, *Mizraim* cures wounds, and *Pharaoh* is sold for balsoms.

* *Omnia*
vanitas &
vanitas &
pastio
venti, νομή
ἀνέμου, βό-
σκησις ut
olim Aquila & Sym-
machus.
V. Drus.
Eccles.

In vain do individuals hope for Immortality, or any patent from oblivion, in preservations below the Moon: Men have been deceived even in their flatteries above the Sun, and studied conceits to perpetuate their names in heaven. The various Cosmography of that part hath already varied the names of contrived constellations; *Nimrod* is lost in *Orion*, and *Osyris* in the Dogge-starre. While we look for incorruption in the heavens, we finde they are but like the Earth; Durable in their main bodies, alterable in their parts: whereof beside Comets and new Stars, perspectives begin to tell tales. And the spots that wander about

the Sun, with *Phaetons* favour, would make clear conviction.

There is nothing strictly immortall, but immortality ; whatever hath no beginning may be confident of no end. All others have a dependent being, and within the reach of destruction, which is the peculiar of that necessary essence that cannot destroy it self ; And the highest strain of omnipotency to be so powerfully constituted, as not to suffer even from the power of it self. But the sufficiency of Christian Immortality frustrates all earthly glory, and the quality of either state after death, makes a folly of posthumous memory. God who can only destroy our souls, and hath assured our resurrection, either of our bodies or names hath directly promised no duration. Wherein there is so much of chance that the boldest Expectants have found unhappy frustration ; and to hold long subsistence, seems but a scape in oblivion. But man is a Noble Animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing Nativities and Deaths with equall lustre, nor omitting Ceremonies of bravery, in the infamy of his nature.

Life is a pure flame, and we live by an invisible Sun within us. A small fire sufficeth for life, great flames seemed too little after death, while men vainly affected precious pyres, and to burn like *Sardanapalus*, but the wisdom of funerall Laws found the folly of prodigall blazes, and reduced undoing fires, unto the rule of sober obsequies, wherein few could be so mean as not to provide wood, pitch, a mourner, and an Urne *.

* Accord-
ing to the
Epitaph of
Rufus and
Beronica in
Gruterus.
*Nec ex Eo-
rum bonis
plus inven-
tum est,
quam Quod
sufficeret ad
emendam
pyram Et
picem qui-
bus corpora
cremaren-
tur, Et
præfica
conducta
& olla
empta.*

^a In Greek,
Latine,
Hebrew,
Ægyptian,
Arabick,
defaced by
Licinius
the Em-
perour.

Five Languages secured not the Epi-
taph of *Gordianus*^a; ²⁰ The man of God
lives longer without a Tomb then any
by one, invisibly interred by Angels,
and adjudged to obscurity, though not
without some marks directing humane
discovery. *Enoch* and *Elias* without
either tomb or buriall, in an anomalous
state of being, are the great Examples
of perpetuity, in their long and living
memory, in strict account being still on
this side death, and having a late part
yet to act upon this stage of earth. If
in the decretory term of the world we
shall not all dye but be changed, accord-
ing to received translation; the last day
will make but few graves; at least quick
Resurrections will anticipate lasting Se-

pultures ; Some Graves will be opened before they be quite closed, and *Lazarus* be no wonder. When many that feared to dye shall groane that they can dye but once, the dismall state is the second and living death, when life puts despair on the damned ; when men shall wish the coverings of Mountaines, not of Monuments, and annihilation shall be courted.

While some have studied Monuments, others have studiously declined them : and some have been so vainly boisterous, that they durst not acknowledge their Graves ; wherein ^b *Alaricus* seems most subtle, who had a River turned to hide his bones at the bottome. Even *Sylla* that thought himself safe in his Urne, could not prevent revenging tongues, and stones thrown at his Monument. Happy are they whom privacy makes innocent, who deal so with men in this world, that they are not afraid to meet them in the next, who when they dye, make no commotion among the dead, and are not toucht with that poetically taunt of *Isaiah*^c.

^b *Jornandes
de rebus
Geticis.*

^c Isa. 14.

Pyramids, Arches, Obelisks, were but the irregularities of vain-glory, and wilde

enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolution rests in the Christian Religion, which trampleth upon pride, and sets on the neck of ambition, humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity, unto which all others must diminish their diameters, and be poorly seen in Angles of contingency^d.

^d *Angulus contingentiæ*, the least of Angles.

Pious spirits who passed their dayes in raptures of futurity, made little more of this world, then the world that was before it, while they lay obscure in the Chaos of pre-ordination, and night of their fore-beings. And if any have been so happy as truly to understand Christian annihilation, extasis, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the kisse of the Spouse,²¹ gustation of God, and ingression into the divine shadow, they have already had an handsome anticipation of heaven; the glory of the world is surely over, and the earth in ashes unto them.

To subsist in lasting Monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names, and prædicament of *Chymera's*, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their *Elysiums*. But all this is nothing in the Metaphysicks of true belief. To live

indeed is to be again our selves, which being not only an hope but an evidence in noble beleevers; 'Tis all one to lye in S^t *Innocents*^{e 22} Church-yard, as in the Sands of *Ægypt*: Ready to be any thing, in the extasie of being ever, and as content with six foot as the Moles of *Adrianus*^f.

Lucan

————— *Tabesne cadavera solvat*
An rogos haud refert.—————

^e In *Paris* where bodies soon consume.
^f A stately *Mausoleum* or sepulchral pyle built by *Adrianus* in *Rome*, where now standeth the Castle of S^t *Angelo*.

*A Roman Urn drawn wth a Coal taken
out of it, & found among y^e burnt bones, & is
Now in y^e Possession of D^r Hans Sloane
To whom y^e Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd*



BRAMPTON URNS.

CONCERNING SOME URNES
FOUND IN BRAMPTON-
FIELD, IN NORFOLK,
ANN. 1667.

I THOUGHT I had taken Leave of URNES, when I had some Years past given a short Account of those found at *Walsingham*,* but a New Discovery being made, I readily obey your Commands in a brief Description thereof.

In a large Arable Field, lying between *Buxton* and *Brampton*, but belonging to *Brampton*, and not much more than a Furlong from *Oxnead Park*, divers *Urnes* were found. A Part of the Field being designed to be inclosed, while the Workmen made several Ditches, they fell upon divers *Urnes*, but earnestly, and carelesly digging, they broke all they met with,

* See, *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Burial: Or, a Discourse of the Sepulchral Urnes lately found in Norfolk*, 8vo, Lond. printed 1658.

and finding nothing but Ashes, or burnt Cinders, they scattered what they found. Upon Notice given unto me, I went unto the Place, and though I used all Care with the Workmen, yet they were broken in the taking out, but many, without doubt, are still remaining in that Ground.

Of these Pots none were found above Three Quarters of a Yard in the Ground, whereby it appeareth, that in all this Time the Earth hath little varied its Surface, though this Ground hath been Plowed to the utmost Memory of Man. Whereby it may be also conjectured, that this hath not been a *Wood-Land*, as some conceive all this Part to have been; for in such Lands they usually made no common Burying-places, except for some special Persons in Graves, and likewise that there hath been an Ancient Habitation about these Parts; for at *Buxton* also, not a Mile off, *Urnes* have been found in my Memory, but in their Magnitude, Figure, Colour, Posture, &c. there was no small Variety, some were large and capacious, able to contain above Two Gallons, some of a middle, others of a smaller Size; the great ones probably belonging to greater Persons, or

might be Family *Urnes*, fit to receive the Ashes successively of their Kindred and Relations, and therefore of these, some had Coverings of the same Matter, either fitted to them, or a thin flat Stone, like a Grave Slate, laid over them ; and therefore also great Ones were but thinly found, but others in good Number ; some were of large wide Mouths, and Bellies proportionable, with short Necks, and bottoms of Three Inches *Diameter*, and near an Inch thick ; some small, with Necks like Juggs, and about that Bigness ; the Mouths of some few were not round, but after the Figure of a Circle compressed ; though some had small, yet none had pointed Bottoms, according to the Figures of those which are to be seen in *Roma Soteranea*, *Viginerus*, or *Mascardus*.

In the Colours also there was great Variety, some were Whitish, some Blackish, and inclining to a Blue, others Yellowish, or dark Red, arguing the Variety of their Materials. Some Fragments, and especially Bottoms of Vessels, which seem'd to be handsome neat Pans, were also found of a fine *Coral-like* Red, somewhat like *Portugal* Vessels, as tho'

they had been made out of some fine *Bolary* Earth, and very smooth ; but the like had been found in divers Places, as Dr. *Casaubon* hath observed about the Pots found at *Newington* in *Kent*, and as other Pieces do yet testify, which are to be found at *Burrow* Castle, an Old *Roman* Station, not far from *Yarmouth*.

Of the *Urnes*, those of the larger Sort, such as had Coverings, were found with their Mouths placed upwards, but great Numbers of the others were, as they informed me, (and One I saw my self,) placed with their Mouths downward, which were probably such as were not to be opened again, or receive the Ashes of any other Person ; though some wonder'd at this Position, yet I saw no Inconveniency in it ; for the Earth being closely pressed, and especially in *Minor* Mouth'd Pots, they stand in a Posture as like to continue as the other, as being less subject to have the Earth fall in, or the Rain to soak into them ; and the same Posture has been observed in some found in other Places, as *Holingshead* delivers, of divers found in *Anglesea*.

Some had Inscriptions, the greatest Part none ; those with Inscriptions were

of the largest Sort, which were upon the reverted Verges thereof; the greatest part of those which I could obtain were somewhat obliterated; yet some of the Letters to be made out: The Letters were between Lines, either Single or Double, and the Letters of some few after a fair *Roman* Stroke, others more rudely and illegibly drawn, wherein there seemed no great Variety. *NUON* being upon very many of them; only upon the inside of the bottom of a small Red Pan-like Vessel, were legibly set down in embossed Letters, *CRACUNA F.*²³ which might imply *Cracuna figuli*, or the Name of the Manufactor, for Inscriptions commonly signified the Name of the Person interr'd, the Names of Servants Official to such Provisions, or the Name of the Artificer, or Manufactor of such Vessels; all which are particularly exemplified by the Learned *Licetus**, where the same Inscription is often found, it is probably, of the Artificer, or where the Name also is in the *Genitive* Case, as he also observeth.

Out of one was brought unto me a Silver *Denarius*, with the Head of *Diva Faustina* on the Obverse side, on the

* Vid. *Licet.* de Lucernis.

Reverse the Figures of the Emperor and Empress joining their Right Hands, with this Inscription, *Concordia* ; the same is to be seen in *Augustino* ; I also received from some Men and Women then present Coins of *Posthumus*, and *Tetricus*, Two of the Thirty Tyrants in the Reign of *Gallienus*, which being of much later Date, begat an Inference, that *Urne-Burial* lasted longer, at least in this Country, than is commonly supposed. Good Authors conceive, that this Custom ended with the Reigns of the *Antonini*, whereof the last was *Antoninus Heliogabalus* ; yet these Coins extend about Fourscore Years lower ; and since the Head of *Tetricus* is made with a radiated Crown, it must be conceived to have been made after his Death, and not before his Consecration, which as the Learned *Tristan* Conjectures, was most probably in the Reign of the Emperor *Tacitus*, and the Coin not made, or at least not issued Abroad, before the Time of the Emperor *Probus*, for *Tacitus* Reigned but Six Months and an Half, his Brother *Florianus* but Two Months, unto whom *Probus* succeeding, Reigned Five Years.

There were also found some pieces of Glass, and finer Vessels, which might contain such Liquors as they often Buried in, or by, the *Urnes*; divers Pieces of Brass, of several Figures; and in one *Urne* was found a Nail Two Inches long, whither to declare the Trade or Occupation of the Person, is uncertain. But upon the Monuments of *Smiths* in *Gruter*, we meet with the Figures of *Hammers*, *Pincers*, and the like; and we find the Figure of a *Cobler's* Awl on the Tomb of one of that Trade, which was in the Custody of *Berini*, as *Argulus* hath set it down in his Notes upon ONUPHRIUS, *Of the Antiquities of VERONA*.

Now, though *Urnes* have been often discovered in former Ages, many think it strange there should be many still found, yet assuredly there may be great Numbers still concealed. For tho' we should not reckon upon any who were thus buried before the Time of the *Romans*, [altho' that the *Druids* were thus buried, it may be probable, and we read of the *Urne* of *Clindonactes*, a *Druid*, found near *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, largely discoursed of by *Licetus*,] and tho', I say, we take not in any Infant which was *Minor igne rogi*,

before Seven Months, or Appearance of Teeth, nor should account this Practice of burning among the *Britains* higher than *Vespasian*, when it is said by *Tacitus*, that they conformed unto the Manners and Customs of the *Romans*, and so both Nations might have one Way of Burial ; yet from his Days, to the Dates of these *Urnes*, were about Two Hundred Years. And therefore it we fall so low, as to conceive there were buried in this Nation but Twenty Thousand Persons, the Account of the buried Persons would amount unto Four Millions, and consequently so great a Number of *Urnes* dispersed through the Land, as may still satisfy the Curiosity of succeeding Times, and arise unto all Ages.

The Bodies, whose Reliques these *Urnes* contained, seemed thoroughly burned ; for beside pieces of Teeth, there were found few Fragments of Bones, but rather Ashes in hard Lumps, and pieces of Coals, which were often so fresh, that one sufficed to make a good Draught of its *Urne*, which still remaineth with me.

Some Persons digging at a little Distance from the *Urne* Places, in hopes to find something of Value, after they had

digged about Three Quarters of a Yard deep, fell upon an Observable Piece of Work,²⁴ whose Description this Figure affordeth. The Work was Square, about Two Yards and a Quarter on each Side. The Wall, or outward Part, a Foot thick, in Colour Red, and looked like Brick ; but it was solid, without any Mortar or Cement, or figur'd Brick in it, but of an whole Piece, so that it seemed to be Framed and Burnt in the same Place where it was found. In this kind of Brick-work were Thirty-two Holes, of about Two Inches and an Half *Diameter*, and Two above a Quarter of a Circle in the East and West Sides. Upon Two of these Holes, on the East Side, were placed Two Pots, with their Mouths downward ; putting in their Arms they found the Work hollow below, and the Earth being clear'd off, much Water was found below them, to the Quantity of a Barrel, which was conceived to have been the Rain-water which soaked in through the Earth above them.

The upper Part of the Work being broke, and opened, they found a Floor about Two Foot below, and then digging onward, Three Floors successively under

one another, at the Distance of a Foot and Half, the Stones being of a Slatty, not Bricky, Substance ; in these Partitions some Pots were found, but broke by the Workmen, being necessitated to use hard Blows for the breaking of the Stones ; and in the last Partition but one, a large Pot was found of a very narrow Mouth, short Ears, of the Capacity of Fourteen Pints, which lay in an enclining Posture, close by, and somewhat under a kind of Arch in the solid Wall, and by the great Care of my worthy Friend, Mr. *William Masham*, who employed the Workmen, was taken up whole, almost full of Water, clean, and without Smell, and insipid, which being poured out, there still remains in the Pot a great Lump of an heavy crusty Substance. What Work this was we must as yet reserve unto better Conjecture. Mean while we find in *Gruter* that some Monuments of the Dead had divers Holes successively to let in the Ashes of their Relations, but Holes in such a great Number to that Intent, we have not anywhere met with.

About Three Months after, my Noble and Honoured Friend, Sir *Robert Paston*, had the Curiosity to open a Piece of

Ground in his Park at *Oxnead*, which adjoined unto the former Field, where Fragments of Pots were found, and upon one the Figure of a well-made Face ; but probably this Ground had been opened and digged before, though out of the Memory of Man, for we found divers small Pieces of Pots, *Sheeps* Bones, sometimes an *Oyster*-shell a Yard deep in the Earth, an unusual *Coin* of the Emperor *Volusianus*, having on the Obverse the Head of the Emperor, with a Radiated Crown, and this Inscription, *Imp. Cæs. C. Volusiano Aug.* that is, *Imperatorì Cæsari Caio Vibio Volusiano Augusto*. On the Reverse an Human Figure, with the Arms somewhat extended, and at the Right Foot an Altar, with the Inscription, *Pietas*. This Emperor was Son unto *Caius Vibius Tribonianus Gallus*, with whom he jointly reigned after the *Decii*, about the Year 254 ; both he, himself, and his Father, were slain by the Emperor *Æmilianus*. By the Radiated Crown this Piece should be Coined after his Death and Consecration,²⁵ but in whose Time it is not clear in History.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

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"It cannot be denied but he hath pass'd over many hard places untouch'd, that might deserve a Note; that he hath made Annotations on some where no need was; and in the explication of others hath gone besides the true sense."—The Annotator upon "Religio Medici" (Thomas Keck of the Temple) to the Reader.

PAGE 3, n. 1.—The Le Gros, Gross, or Groos family settled at Sloly, near Crostwick, so early as the reign of Stephen, and became possessed of the manor and hall of Crostwick in the 38th year of Henry VIII.—Wilkin.

PAGE 4, n. 2. "*Imperial faces*."—Mr. Le Gros must doubtless have been a collector of Roman coins.

PAGE 11, n. 3.—According to St. Jerome, Adam was buried at Hebron, but other traditions place the site of his sepulchre on Mount Calvary.

"Hic hominem primum suscepimus esse sepultum
Hic patitur Christus, pia sanguine terra madescit
Pulvis Adæ ut possit, veteris, cum sanguine Christi
Commixtus, stillantis aquæ virtute lavari."

Tertullian, *Carm. cont. Marcion*, ii. 4.

See more in Bayle's Dictionary, s.v. Adam.

PAGE 13, n. 4.—This refers to the raven “who would salute and bid Good-morrow to Tiberius Cæsar, and after him to Germanicus and Drusus, the young princes, both Cæsars, every one by their names.” The bird, having done this regularly for many years, was killed by a shoemaker, who in return was murdered by the people. “But contrariwise the carcase of the dead Raven was solemnly entred, and the funerals performed with all ceremoniall obsequies that could bee devised. For the corps of this bird was bestowed in a coffin, couch, or bed, and the same bedecked with chaplets and guirlands of fresh floures of all sorts, carried upon the shoulders of two blacke Mores, with minstrels before sounding the haut boies, and playing on the fife, as farre as to the funerall fire, which was piled and made in the right hand of the Causey Appia two miles without the cittie” (Pliny, “Nat. Hist.,” x. c. 43). This took place in A.D. 35.

PAGE 16, n. 5.—This calls to mind the “Yle that is clept Caffolos. Men of that Contree, whan here Frenches ben seke, thei hangen hem upon Trees: and seyn, that it is bettre, that Briddes, that ben Angeles of God, eten hem, than the foule Wormes of the Erthe” (Maundeville’s “Travels,” ed. 1839, p. 194; see also p. 308).

PAGE 16, n. 6.—“As the men and horses dispatched by fire for the service of the dead are but paper figures, so offerings of clothes and money may be represented likewise. The imitations of Spanish pillar-dollars in pasteboard covered with tin-foil, the sheets of tin-foil paper which stand for silver money, and, if coloured

yellow, for gold, are consumed in such quantities that the sham becomes a serious reality, for the manufacture of mock-money is the trade of thousands of women and children in a Chinese city" (Tylor's "Primitive Culture," 1871, vol. i., p. 445). In ancient tombs in the Crimea pieces of "ghost-money," or imitations of coins made in thin gold-foil, are often found.

PAGE 20, n. 7.—With regard to this bird, "which after many hundred years burneth itself, and from the ashes thereof riseth up another," see "Vulgar Errors," book iii., chap. 12.

PAGE 22, n. 8.—The objects described as having been found with the urns at Old Walsingham are characteristic of Saxon interments. The small boxes may possibly have been cylindrical thread-boxes of bronze, like those in Neville's "Saxon Obsequies," pl. xv., and the "handles of small brass instruments" were probably either clasps, as in Neville, pl. xii., or fibulæ. The "opale" may have been a glass or crystal bead. The urns themselves may be paralleled by some figured by Neville. It has been supposed that some of them are still preserved in the British Museum, but I have not been able to trace their existence.

PAGE 25, n. 9.—As I have observed in the Introduction, the coin here mentioned is hardly susceptible of identification, nor can it easily be imagined that any such inscription as *Elle n'a elle* should occur upon a coin. The only pieces that can with any show of probability be assigned to Matilda are those which I attributed to her in 1851 ("Num. Chron.," vol.

xiv., p. 66). They seem to bear the legend MATILDA IM., or her title of IMPERATRIX only.

PAGE 31, n. 10.—The reputed rubies were merely garnets, such as are so commonly inlaid in Merovingian and Saxon ornaments. The “many hundred Imperial coyns” must be reduced to four, if Chifflet speaks truly. These were in silver, ranging from Hadrian (circ. A.D. 120) to Constantius II. (circ. A.D. 360), and all were perforated so as to serve as pendants.

PAGE 31, n. 11.—In Sir Thomas Browne’s “Musæum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita” (“Certain Miscellany Tracts,” London, 1684), under the heading of “Rare and generally unknown Books,” appears “The Letter of *Quintus Cicero*, which he wrote in answer to that of his Brother *Marcus Tullius*, desiring of him an account of *Britany*, wherein are described the Country State and Manners of the Britains of that Age.”

PAGE 39, n. 12.—It is hardly possible for this “Vinosity” to have remained unchanged through centuries; but in a Roman sepulchral urn that I exhumed from a barrow at Youngsbury near Ware, were lumps of a manna-like substance. On being burnt these proved to consist of incense, and I have thus smelt the sweet savour of the funeral offerings of probably not less than 1600 years ago (“Archæologia,” lii., 294).

PAGE 39, n. 13.—There does not appear to be any definite statement to this effect in Plato. In his “Republic,” book viii., he maintains that the forms of government, five in number, succeed

each other in a definite order, and at the end of the cycle recommence. In book x. (615) he fixes the duration of human life at a hundred years, and inasmuch as throughout the "Republic" he insists on the analogy of the State with the individual, his interpreters seem to have assumed the duration of the cycle to be five hundred years.

PAGE 52, n. 14.—St. Chrysostom more than once reports that Constantine was buried in the atrium of a church ; but that burials took place in English churches before the days of Cuthred, A.D. 796-805, appears from a rule as to consecration of altars laid down by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, A.D. 668-692 (see Prof. Cheetham in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," s.v. Churchyard).

PAGE 52, n. 15.—Instead of "knav'd," Wilkin's and some other editions read "gnawed." "Knav'd" seems to me the preferable reading. Can Browne have been thinking of the grave-scene in "Hamlet," "This skull had a tongue in it," "How the knave jowls it to the ground"?

PAGE 53, n. 16.—Here, as in some other cases, Sir Thomas Browne was in advance of his time. The substance like Castile soap into which the muscles and albumenoid portions of the body are converted under certain circumstances is now well known under the name of "adipocere," or "adipocire," a name which appears to have been given to it in 1787 by MM. Fourcroy and Thouret, who are commonly regarded as the first discoverers of this peculiar chemical compound. Their discovery originated in the old burial-ground of the Innocents at Paris being

laid out for building purposes, when the *fosses communes*, each containing from 1200 to 1500 bodies, were laid bare.

PAGE 54, n. 17.—A note of the author, which, however, does not appear in the first edition of the “Hydriotaphia,” explains that the *Cariola* is that part in the skeleton of a horse which is made by the haunch-bones. The term seems to be Italian. In Florio’s “Italian and English Dictionary,” 1659, *Cariola* or *Carriola* is defined to mean “a trundle-bed . . . also the root or rumpe of a horse’s taile.” Cotgrave, in his “French Dictionary,” gives *Cariol* and *Cariole* as “the root of a horse’s tayle, or the bone thereof; the rumpe bone.”

PAGE 56, n. 18.—The valley between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives is supposed to have received the name of Jehoshaphat from the King of Judah of that name. There is, however, no evidence that the valley which was known as that of Kedron obtained this designation before the fourth century of the Christian era.

PAGE 61, n. 19.—“Hominem priusquam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est” (Plin., “Hist. Nat.,” vii., 16).

————— “terrâ clauditur infans
Et minor igne rogi” (Juv., *Sat.*, xv., 140).

PAGE 82, n. 20.—This is the epitaph of Gordian III., recorded by Julius Capitolinus as having been placed on his tomb by the soldiery of Philip, and as having been destroyed by Licinius.

PAGE 84, n. 21.—In connexion with this, Mr. Edward Marshall, in “Notes and Queries,” August 13th, 1892, p. 123, calls attention to a

passage in Jeremy Taylor, who writes with regard to the death of Bassus Aufidius, "And therefore his last scene was not so laborious, but God called him away something after the manner of Moses, which the Jews express by '*osculum oris Dei*,' 'the kiss of God's mouth,' that is, a death indeed foresignified, but gentle and serene, and without temptation." Mr. Marshall also cites some other passages relating to the death of Moses by the kisses of the Lord's mouth.

PAGE 85, n. 22.—See Evelyn's "Diary," 1st April, 1644, "Here I took a turn in St. Innocents' Churchyard, where the story of the devouring quality of the ground (consuming bodies in twenty-four hours), the vast charnels of bones, tombs, pyramids and sepulchres took up much of my time."

PAGE 93, n. 23.—Red-glazed ware, commonly called "Samian," has been found in London bearing the mark, CRACVNA. F. (Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. i., p. 151). The F probably stands for FECIT.

PAGE 97, n. 24.—It is hard to understand what this "Observable Piece of Work" may have been. Possibly the remains of a hypocaust were found, and the holes in the wall of burnt clay may have been flues for heated air.

PAGE 99, n. 25.—The author was in error in supposing that the radiate crown was always significant of a coin with the head of the emperor thus decorated having been struck after his death. From the days of Nero onwards, emperors often assumed this crown upon their coins, probably as claiming some of the attributes of Apollo or the Sun. Tribonianus is a misprint for Trebonianus.

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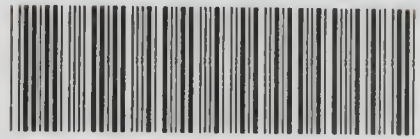
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